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EMENDATIONES PROPERTIANAE.

I SEE no hope of completing a presentable commentary on Propertius within the next ten years; but in the mean time I trust that the following list of corrections may be found of service to scholars. For my own sake too I have some desire to put my conjectures on record, as I am for ever seeing them forestalled by other students: Mr Konrad Rossberg in vol. 127 of Fleckeisen's annual has bereft me of no less than nine. True, it is agreeable enough to have one's results confirmed by a scholar who stands next to Mr Baehrens and Mr Palmer at the head of living Propertian critics; but I should like to retain something of my own. As many readers are apt to fancy that the textual critic proposes alterations out of pure gaiety of heart and not because the vulgate wants altering, I have added an examination in detail of the first elegy; 'ne mea dona tibi studio disposta fideli, Intellecta prius quam sint, contempta relinquas'. I employ Mr Baehrens' MSS and notation.

I i. Between 11 and 12 are lost two such verses as these: 'multaque desertis fleuerat arboribus, | et modo submissa casses ceruice ferebat'.

I i 23 tunc ego crediderim *uobis et sidera et amnes* | posse Cytinaeis ducere carminibus] *et manes et sidera uobis.*

I i 33 *in me* nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras] *me non.*

I ii 9 aspice quos summittat humus *formosa* colores] *morosa.*

I ii 13 litora natiuis *persuadent picta* lapillis] *superant depicta.*

I ii 23 non illis studium *uulgo conquirere* amantes DVN, *aquirere* AF] *fulgore anquirere.*

I iii. Between 6 and 7 should be inserted II ii 9—12 as follows: 'qualis et Ischomachi Lapithae genus heroine, | Centauris medio grata rapina mero, | *marcori Ossaeis* fertur Boebeidos undis | uirgineum primo composuisse latus, | talis' eqs. *Mercurio satis* FN, *Mercurioque satis* DV, *Ossaeis* Burmann.

I iii 37 *namque* ubi longa meae consumpsti tempora noctis] *nempe.* The interrogation at the end of 38 should be removed.

I iv 19 nec tibi *me* post haec committet Cynthia] *se.*

I iv 24 et quicumque sacer *qualis* ubique lapis] *quaeret.*

I iv 26 quam sibi cum rapto cessat amore *deus*] *decus.*

I v 9 quod si forte tuis non est contraria *nostris*] *uerbis.*

I vi 26 *hanc* animam *extremae* reddere nequitiae] *huic... extremam.*

I vii 16 quod nolim nostros *euiolasse* deos] *eualuisse.*

I vii 23 and 24 should be placed between 10 and 11: Mr Baehrens has seen that they are now out of place.

I viii 13 atque ego non uideam *tales* subsidere uentos] *laetos:* 13 and 14 should be placed after 16 with Scaliger.

I viii 22. Read 'de te | quin ego, uita, tuo limine, *nostra,* querar'. *uerba* MSS.

I ix 32 nedum *tu possis* spiritus iste leuis] *tutus erit.*

I xi 6 ecquis in extremo restat *amore locus*] *amor iecore.*

I xi 15 and 16 should be placed between 8 and 9.

I xi 22 *aut* sine te uitae cura sit ulla meae AFN, *an* DV] Perhaps *haut* or *hau.*

I xiii 12 nec noua quaerendo semper *amicus* eris] *iniquus* Guietus rightly, except that Propertius wrote *inicus.*

I xv 25 and 26 should seemingly be placed before 33, where *tam tibi* should be read with Mr Palmer after Madvig.

I xv 29 *multa* prius uasto labentur flumina ponto] Perhaps *aucta.*

I xvi 9 nec possum infamis dominae defendere *noctes*] *uoces:* thus no transposition is required.

I xvi 23 me mediae *noctes,* me sidera prona iacentem | frigidaque Eoo me dolet aura gelu] *noctis.*

I xvii 3 nec mihi *Casiopae solito uisura* carinam DV and nearly so AFN] *Castoreast stella inuisura.*

I xvii 28 mansuetis socio parcite *litoribus* ADVN, *thoribus* F] *pectoribus.*

I xviii 15 tua *flendo* | lumina deiectis turpia sint lacrimis] *flentis.*

I xviii 23 and 24 should be placed between 6 and 7 with *an tua quod* altered to *a tua quot* as in the interpolated MSS.

I xviii 27 *diuini fontes* et frigida rupes] *dumeti sentes.*

I xix 13 illic *formosae* ueniant chorus heroinae] *formosus.*

I xix 16 *et* Tellus hoc ita iusta sinat] *ut.*

I xx 3 and 4 should be written thus: 'saepe inprudenti fortuna occurrit amanti | crudelis: Minuis *trux erat* Ascanius'. *dixerat* O, *dixerit* N.

I xx 24 *raram* sepositi quaerere fontis aquam] Perhaps *sacram.*

I xx 30 et uolucres *ramo* submouet insidias] *armo.*

I xx 52 formosum *Nymphis credere uisus* Hylam ON, *rursus* V m. 2] *ni uis perdere rursus* Mr Palmer rightly, except that *rusus* should be read.

I xxii. Between 8 and 9 should be inserted II xxx 21 and 22; after 10 should be placed IV i 65 and 66: 'si Perusina tibi patriae sunt nota sepulcra, | Italiae duris funera temporibus, | cum Romana suos egit discordia ciues | (sic, mihi praecipue puluis Etrusca dolor, | tu proiecta mei perpessa es membra propinqui, | tu nullo miseri contegis ossa solo) | spargereque alterna communes caede penates | et ferre ad patrios *proelia* dira lares, | proxima subposito contingens Vmbria campo | me genuit terris fertilis uberibus. | scandentes quisquis cernet de uallibus arces, | ingenio muros aestimet ille meo'. *praemia* MSS.

II i 5 siue *illam* Cois fulgentem incedere coccis] *iuuat:* thus no transposition is required.

II i 11 and 12 should be placed after 14, and *cum* in 11 should be changed to *tum*.

II i. After 38 should be inserted III ix 33 and 34: 'Theseus infernis, superis testatur Achilles, | hic Ixioniden, ille Menoetiaden; | Caesaris et famae uestigia iuncta tenebis: | Maecenatis erunt uera tropaea fides'.

II i. After 56 should perhaps be placed xv 31—36 which have no business in their present situation.

II ii 9—12 belong, as I have said, to I iii; their present place, between 8 and 13, must have been originally occupied by two such verses as these: 'aut patrio qualis ponit uestigia ponto | mille Venus teneris cincta Cupidinibus'.

II iii should be joined to ii; but iii 1—8, between 4 and 5 of which should be inserted with Scaliger ii 1 and 2, are a fragment which has no business here.

II iii 11 and 12 should be placed between 16 and 17, and the whole passage written thus: 'nec me tam facies, quamuis sit candida, cepit | (lilia non domina sunt magis alba mea), | nec de more comae per leuia colla fluentes, | non oculi, geminae, sidera nostra, faces, | nec siqua Arabio lucet bombyce puella | (non sum de nihilo blandus amator ego), | ut Maeotica nix minio si certat Hibero | utque rosae puro lacte natant folia, | quantum quom posito formose saltat Iaccho' eqs.

II iii 45 and 46 (Hertzberg Haupt Palmer = iv 1 and 2 Mueller Baehrens) have no business where they now are; no more have iv 5 and 6 (H. H. P. = 15 and 16 M. B.).

II vi is a patchwork of these fragments: 1—8; 9—14; 15—26 after which we should seemingly with Mr Heydenreich place 35 and 36; 27—34 (so Lachmann); 37—40 (the same); finally 41 and 42 should be placed with Mr Baehrens after vii 12.

II vii 16 non mihi sat *magnus* Castoris iret equus] *nauus*.

II viii 3 and 4 are out of place; so are 11 and 12.

II viii 21—24 have no business here and should perhaps be placed after xxviii 40.

II viii 30 cessare in *tectis* pertulit arma sua] *Teucris*.

II ix 7 *uisura* et quamuis numquam speraret Vlixem] Perhaps *uisurum*.

II ix 12 et dominum lauit maerens captiua cruentum | appositum flauis in *Simoenta* uadis] *Simoente.*

II ix 15 *cum tibi* nec Peleus aderat nec caerula mater FN, *quom tibi* DV] *cui tum* or *quoi tum.*

II ix 18 *tunc etiam* felix inter et arma pudor] *otia tunc.*

II ix 29 and 30 should be placed between 20 and 21.

II ix 44 nunc quoque *eris,* quamuis sis inimica mihi] *era's.*

II x 2 *et campum Haemonio* iam dare tempus equo] *campum et Maeonio.*

II xii 6 fecit et *humano* corde uolare deum] *haut uano.*

II xiii 1 non tot Achaemeniis *armantur Etrusca* sagittis O, *armatur* N] *armatus Eruthra* or *Erythra.*

II xiii 38 *quam fuerant* Phthii busta cruenta uiri] *funere quam.*

II xiii 39 and 40 should be written thus: 'tu quoque si quando uenies *adfata* (memento) | hoc iter, ad lapides, cara, ueni memores'. *ad fata* MSS.

II xiii 45 nam quo tam dubiae seruetur spiritus *horae*] Perhaps *aurae.*

II xiii 48 cui si tam longae minuisset fata senectae | *Gallicus* Iliacis miles in aggeribus] *caelicus.*

II xiii 55 illic formosum *iacuisse paludibus,* illuc | diceris effusa tu, Venus, isse coma DVN, *plaudibus* F] *ciuisse a planctibus: ciuisse* Mr Baehrens.

II xiv 5 *saluum cum* aspexit Orestem FN, *suum saluum* DV] *cum saluum.*

II xiv 7 and 8 should be written thus: 'nec sic, *cum* incolumem Minois Thesea uidit, | Daedalium lino *cui* duce rexit iter'. The MSS omit *cum* in 7 and have *cum* for *cui* in 8.

II xiv 29 and 30 should be written thus: 'nunc *a te,* mea lux, *pendet,* mea litore nauis | *soluat an in* mediis sidat honusta uadis'. *ad te* and *ueniet* MSS; *seruata an* FN, *seruata in* DV.

II xv. The verses of this elegy should be arranged as follows: 1—8, 37—40, 9—24, 49 and 50, 29 and 30, 27 and 28, 25 and 26, 51—54. 25 and 26 have already been placed after 28 by Mr Palmer. 41—48 should be placed after xxx 18; 31—36 perhaps after i 56.

II xv 1 should be written thus: '*io* me felicem, *io* nox mihi

candida, *io* tu | lectule'. *o...o...o* F, *o...o...et o* N, *ah...o... et o* DV.

II xv 37 quod mihi si *tecum* tales concedere noctes | illa uelit] *interdum.*

II xvi 13 and 14 should be placed after 28; 17 and 18 after 12; 29 and 30 after 46; 41 and 42 after III xi 38.

II xvii 13 and 14 should be placed after 2; after 4 should be placed xxii 43—50. The verses 5—12 and 15—18 are a fragment of another poem.

II xviii 5 quid si iam canis aetas *mea caneret* annis] Perhaps *marceret ab.*

II xviii 9 illum saepe *suis* decedens fouit in ulnis | quam *prius adiunctos* sedula lauit equos] *prius...stadiis functos:* no transposition of verses should be made.

II xviii 23 *nunc* etiam infectos demens imitare Britannos | *ludis* et externo tincta nitore caput] *tune...uadis.*

II xviii 29 and 30 should be placed after 24, and in 29 *deme: mihi* should be written with Perreius.

II xviii 33 and 34 have no business here.

II xviii 37 and 38 should be placed at the end of xix, which see.

II xix 5 *nulla* neque ante tuas orietur rixa fenestras] *ulla.*

II xix 17—24 are no part of this poem.

II xix 18 me sacra Dianae | suscipere et *Veneri* ponere uota iuuat] Perhaps *Veneris.*

II xix 27 and 28 should be placed after 32; after 28 should be placed xviii 37 and 38.

II xix 31 quin ego in assidua mutem tua nomina lingua] The sense required is 'quin ego tua crimina metuam uelut in assidua turba'. In 29 *sic* should be changed to *set* with Munro.

II xx 8 nec tantum Niobae bis sex ad busta superbae | sollicito lacrimans defluit *a* Sipylo] *os.*

II xx 35 *hoc* mihi perpetuo *ius* est] *haec...laus.*

II xxi 12 *eiecta est tenuis* namque Creusa domo] *eiecit Aesonia.*

II xxii 43—50 should be placed after xvii 4, as I have said.

II xxiii 1 cui *fuit indocti fugienda et* semita uulgi FN, *et* omitted by DV] cui *fugienda fuit indocti* semita uulgi.

II xxiii 4 ut *promissa* suae uerba ferat dominae] *praemissa.*

II xxiii 23 and 24 should be placed after xxiv 4.

II xxiv 4 *aut* pudor ingenuus *aut reticendus* amor] *a* pudor, ingenuus *reiciendus* amor.

II xxiv 8 urerer et quamuis, *nomine* uerba darem] urerer et quamuis *non bene,* uerba darem.

II xxiv 51 *hi* tibi nos erimus] *hic.*

II xxv 35 at si saecla forent *antiquis grata* puellis] *gratis antiqua.*

II xxv 41 uidistis *pleno* teneram candore puellam, | uidistis fusco] Perhaps *niueo.*

II xxv 43 uidistis *quandam Argiua* prodente figura, | uidistis nostras O, *quadam* N] *patriam Argiuas.*

II xxv 45 *illaque* plebeio uel sit sandicis amictu] *aeque.*

II xxv. Before 47 at least two verses have been lost: the passage may have run thus: '*quin tu uulgares, demens, compescis amores* | *in poenamque uagus desinis esse tuam,* | cum satis una tuis insomnia portet ocellis | una sit et cuiuis femina multa mala'.

II xxvi 23 non si *Cambysae* (*cambise*) redeant et flumina Croesi] *tam inuisi.*

II xxvi 31 and 32 should be placed before 29: after 28 two verses have been lost: the passage ran thus: '*siue iter in terris dominae sit carpere cura* | *terrestrem carpet me comitante uiam;* | unum litus erit *positis torus* unaque tecto | arbor, et ex una saepe bibemus aqua. | seu mare per longum' eqs. *sopitis* MSS, omitting *torus.*

II xxvi 54 nec umquam | alternante *uorans* uasta Charybdis aqua] *uacans* Ayrmann rightly, except that Propertius wrote *uocans,* a form preserved by F in IV ii 19 'mendax fama *uoces*'.

II xxvii 7 rursus et obiectum *flemus* caput esse tumultu O, *fletus* N] *fles tu.*

II xxviii. After 2 should be placed 33—38: 33 and 34 were so placed by Passerat.

II xxviii 9—32 are no part of this poem.

II xxviii 40. After this verse should perhaps be placed viii 21—24, as I have said.

II xxviii 51 uobiscum *est iope*] If Mr Rossberg's *Cretu* for

troia in 53 and Jacob's *Beli* for *phebi* in 54 are correct, I propose *Hesione.*

II xxviii 57 and 58 should be placed before III xviii 25.

II xxviii 61 and 62 should be punctuated thus: 'redde etiam excubias diuae nunc ante iuuencae | uotiuas, noctes et mihi solue decem'.

II xxix 27 ibat et *hinc* castae narratum somnia Vestae] Perhaps *in.*

II xxix 36 signa *uoluptatis non iacuisse* duos. *uoluntatis* FN, *uolutantis* F man. 2, *nec* N] *uolutantis concaluisse.*

II xxx. Here are three elegies or fragments of elegies: the first 19 and 20, 1 and 2, 7—10, 3—6, 11 and 12; the second 13—18 (here insert xv 41—48), 37—40; the third 23—30, 33—36, 31 and 32. 21 and 22 should be placed after I xxii 8, as I have said. 13 eqs. have already been separated by Mr Heimreich and 23 eqs. by Lachmann from the verses which precede them in the MSS: 31 and 32 have been placed after 36 by Mr Rossberg.

II xxx 35 si tamen Oeagri quaedam compressa *figura* | Bistoniis olim rupibus accubuit] *figuras.*

II xxxii. Before 1 should be placed 7 and 8.

II xxxii 5 *cur uatem* Herculeum deportant esseda Tibur O, *curua te* N] *curnam te.*

II xxxii 15 and 16 should be written thus: 'et leuiter lymphis *lato* crepitantibus *orbe* | *quam* subito Triton ore recondit aquam' or 'aqua'. *tota...urbe cum* MSS, *toto...orbe* Heinsius.

II xxxii 25 and 26 should be placed after 30.

II xxxii 32 et *sine* decreto uiua reducta domum est] *de.*

II xxxii 37 *hoc* et Hamadryadum spectauit turba sororum DVN, *non* F] *uos.*

II xxxii 41 and 42 have no business here and should perhaps be placed after III xiii 12.

II xxxii 43 and 44 should be placed after 46.

II xxxii 61 should be written 'quod si tu Graias *uinces* imitata Latina'. *tuque es* FN, *siue es* DV: I fancy O had *iuue es.*

II xxxiii 6 *quaecumque* illa fuit, semper amara fuit] Perhaps *quodcumque.*

II xxxiv 12 *posses in* tanto uiuere flagitio N, *posset et in* F, *posses et in* DV] *posses tun.*

II xxxiv 31—54 should be thus arranged: 51—54, 41 and 42 (so Munro), 39 and 40 (Munro), 31 and 32 (Munro), 43 and 44, 33—38, 45—50. There should be a comma, not a full stop, at the end of 38.

II xxxiv 40 Amphiaraeae prosint tibi fata quadrigae | aut Capanei *magno* grata ruina Ioui? N, *magno* omitted by O] *irato.*

II xxxiv 59 *me iuuet* hesternis *positum* languere corollis] *mi lubet...posito:* retain *Vergilio* in 61. With 59 begins a new elegy.

II xxxiv 83 nec minor *his* animis, *aut sim* minor ore, canorus | anseris indocto carmine cessit olor] *hic...ut sit.*

III ii 24 annorum aut *ictu pondere* uicta ruent N, *ictu pondera* F, *ictus pondere* DV] *ictus pondera.*

III iii 41 nil tibi sit rauco *praeconia* classica cornu | flare N, *praeconica* O] Perhaps *Phoenicia.*

III iv 4 should be written '*Thybris*, et Euphrates sub tua iura *fluet*'. *Tygris* N, *Tigris* O: *fluent* NO.

III iv 18 et subter *captos* arma sedere duces] *cautos:* 17 and 18 should be placed before 15 with Mr Keil.

III v 9 corpora disponens mentem non uidit in *arte*] *arto.*

III v 11 nunc maris in tantum *uento* iactamur] *ponto.*

III v 15 uictor cum uictis pariter *miscebitur* umbris] *miscetur in.*

III v 40 and 42 should exchange places.

III vi 3 and 4 should be placed after 8.

III vi 28 et lecta *exectis* anguibus ossa trahunt DVN, *exactis* F] *exuctis.*

III vi 40 me quoque consimili inpositum torquerier igni | iurabo bis sex integer *esse* dies] *ipse.*

III vii. The verses of this elegy should be arranged thus: 1—10, 43—66, 17 and 18, 11—16, 67—70, 25—32, 37 and 38, 35 and 36, 19 and 20, 33 and 34, 21—24, 39—42, 71 and 72. 17 and 18 were placed after 66, 67—70 after 16, 25—28 after 70, 35 and 36 after 38, 39—42 after 24 by Scaliger; 43—66 after 10, 11 and 12 after 18 by Mr Baehrens. Further, 51 and 53 should exchange places as Mr W. Fischer bids them.

III vii 60 attulimus *longas* in freta uestra manus] *nocuas:* the sentence is interrogative.

III viii 12 *et* Veneris magnae uoluitur ante pedes] *haec:* a full stop should be placed at the end of the verse: 13—18 have no business here.

III viii 35 and 36 are out of place.

III ix 9 gloria Lysippo est animosa *effingere* signa N, *fingere* O] *ecfingere.*

III ix 16 Praxitelem propria *uindicat* urbe lapis] *uendit at: uenditat* Hertzberg.

III ix 25 Medorum *pugnaces ire per hostes*] Perhaps *pugna rescindere postes.*

III ix 33 and 34 should be placed after II i 38, as I have said.

III ix 49 and 51 should exchange places.

III x 23 tibia *nocturnis* succumbat rauca choreis] *continuis.*

III xi 13—16 should be placed after 20.

III xi 17 *Omphale* in tantum formae processit honorem] Perhaps *Maeonis.*

III xi 36 and 40 should exchange places as Lachmann bids them; then after 38 should be inserted II xvi 41 and 42: the passage should run thus: 'haec tibi, Pompei, detraxit harena triumphos: | *nulla Philippeost agmine* adusta nota. | issent Phlegraeo melius tibi funera campo; | *nec tua sic* socero colla daturus eras: | Caesaris haec uirtus et gloria Caesaris haec est, | illa, qua uicit, condidit arma manu'. *una Philippeo sanguine* and *uel tua si* MSS.

III xi 47—68 should be arranged thus: 51—58, 65—68, 59 and 60, 47—50. 67 and 68 were placed before 59 by Passerat.

III xi 55 and 56 should be written thus: 'non hoc, Roma, fui tanto tibi ciue uerenda' | *dixerat* assiduo lingua sepulta mero. *dixit et* MSS.

III xi 70 *tantum* operis *belli* sustulit una dies] *tanti...bellum.*

III xii 25 castra decem annorum et Ciconum *mons* Ismara *calpe*] *mersa...clade* or *caede: domita...clade* Eldick.

III xiii 9 haec etiam *clausas* expugnant arma pudicas] *Euhadnas.*

III xiii 12. After this verse should perhaps be placed II xxxii 41 and 42, as I have said.

III xiii 19 and 20 should be written thus: 'et certamen habent, *letum* quae uiua sequatur | *coniugii'*. *leti...coniugium* MSS: editors put the comma after *leti.*

III xiii 35 hinulei pellis *totos* operibat amantes] Perhaps *lentos:* in 37 *laetas* should be read with F.

III xiii 39 corniger atque *dei* uacuam pastoris in aulam | dux aries saturas ipse reduxit oues] *die.*

III xiii 43—46 I fear have no business here.

III xiv 15 and 16 should be placed before 11; Scaliger placed them before 13.

III xvi 20 sanguine tam paruo quis enim spargatur amantis | improbus? *exclusis* fit comes ipsa Venus] *exsuctis.*

III xvi 21 quod si certa meos sequerentur funera *casus*] *cursus.*

III xvii 12 spesque timorque *animo* uersat utroque modo] *animae.*

III xvii 24 Pentheos in triplices funera *grata* greges] Perhaps *carpta.*

III xviii 10 errat et *in uestro* spiritus ille lacu] *inferno.*

III xviii 19 and 20 Attalicas supera uestes atque *omnia magnis* | gemmea sint *ludis*] *ostra zmaragdis...Indis.*

III xviii 21 sed *tamen* hoc omnes, huc primus et ultimus *ordo*] *manet...imus.*

III xviii 25. Before this verse should be placed II xxviii 57 and 58, as I have said.

III xviii 29 and 30 should be placed after IV vi 34.

III xviii 31—34 should be written thus: 'at tibi nauta, pias hominum qui traicit umbras, | *hac* animae portet corpus inane *uia,* | qua Siculae uictor telluris Claudius et qua | Caesar ab humana cessit in astra uice'. *huc...tuae* MSS.

III xix 25 and 26 should be placed after 28: thus *tamen* in 27 can be retained.

III xx 19—24 should be placed before 15: Lachmann placed 19 and 20 there.

III xx 25 qui *pactas in* foedera ruperit *aras*] Perhaps *tacta sic...ara.*

III xxii 3 Dindymis et sacra fabricata *iuuenta* Cybelle O, *inuenta* N] *in caute.*

III xxii 15 and 16 should be placed before 7 and written thus: '*siqua et* olorigeri uisenda est ora Caystri | et *quae* septenas temperat unda uias'. *et siqua* NF man. 2, *at siqua* O. *qua* NO.

III xxii 25 Albanus lacus et *socii* Nemorensis *ab unda* N, *sotii* F, *sotiis* DV] *foliis* Nemorensis *abundans.*

III xxii 41 hic tibi ad *eloquium* ciues] Perhaps *adloquium.*

III xxiii 14 an tu | non bona de nobis *crimina* ficta iacis] *carmina.*

III xxiii 17 and 18 should be punctuated thus: 'et quaecumque uolens reperit non stulta puella | garrula, cum blandis dicitur hora dolis'.

III xxiv 9 and 10 should be placed after 12 thus: 'haec ego non ferro, non igne coactus, et ipsa | naufragus Aegaea uerba fatebor aqua. | quod mihi non patrii poterant auertere amici | eluere aut uasto Thessala saga mari, | correptus saeuo Veneris torrebar aeno' eqs.

III xxiv 19 Mens Bona, siqua *dèo* es, tua me in sacraria dono] *adeo.*

IV i 7 *Tarpeius. Tarpetius* N] *Tarpeiius.* So iv 1 I should write *Tarpeiiae* for the *tarpelle* of F, and iv 15 *Tarpeiia* for the *carpella* of the same MS.

IV i 19 annuaque accenso *celebrare* Palilia faeno FNV, *celebrate* D] *celebrante.*

IV i 28. After this verse should be inserted x 21 and 22; after 29 should be placed in reverse order x 19 and 20: the passage will run thus: 'nec rudis infestis miles radiabat in armis: | miscebant usta proelia nuda sude. | picta neque inducto fulgebat parma pyropo: | praebebant caesi baltea lenta boues. | prima galeritus posuit praetoria Lycmon, | *nec* galea hirsuta compta lupina iuba. | idem *equos* et frenis, idem fuit aptus aratris, | magnaque pars Tatio rerum erat inter oues'. *et* and *eques* MSS.

IV i 31—56. Out of these verses, 33—36 should be placed after x 26; the rest should be arranged thus: 37 and 38, 55 and 56 (so L. Lange), 31 and 32, 45 (write *hinc* with Heinsius) and 46, 39 and 40 (write *huc* with Messrs Baehrens and Palmer), 47—52, 41 (write *illos* with Schrader)—44, 53 and 54.

IV i 31 hinc Tities Ramnesque uiri Luceresque *coloni* O, *soloni* N] *seueri.*

IV i 50 *dixit Auentino rura pianda* Remo] Perhaps *dixerat a uentis non rapienda.*

IV i 57—70, when 65 and 66 have been removed and placed after I xxii 10, compose a prooemium to i (1—56), ii, iv, vi, ix, x, and should be arranged thus: 61—64, 57—60, 67—70.

IV i 81 eqs. should be written thus: 'nunc pretium fecere deos et *fallimus* auro | (Iuppiter!) obliquae signa iterata rotae | felicesque Iouis stellas' eqs. *fallitur* MSS.

IV i 85 and 86 should be placed after 108: 83—86 were placed there by Scaliger.

IV i 87 and 88 should with Scaliger be placed before 71: 88 should be written 'et maris et terrae *regna superba* canam'. *longa sepulcra* MSS.

IV i 120 incipe *tu lacrimis* aequs adesse nouis] *miraclis.*

IV i 124 et lacus aestiuis *intepet* Vmber aquis] *non tepet.*

IV i 143 and 144 should be placed before 141.

IV ii 2 accipe Vertumni *signa* paterna dei] *regna.*

IV ii 4. After this verse should be placed 49—56 in the following order: 51—54, 49—50, 55 and 56. There should be a comma at the end of 4, a full stop at the end of 52.

IV ii 12 Vertumni rursus *credidit* esse sacrum] *credis id.*

IV ii 35 *est etiam* aurigae species Vertumnus et eius eqs.] Perhaps *mentiar.*

IV ii 39 *pastorem ad baculum* possum *curare*] *da baculum, pastor me* possum *ornare. pastor me* Ayrmann.

IV iii 7—10 te modo *uiderunt iteratos* Bactra per *ortus,* | te modo munito Sericus hostis equo, | hibernique Getae pictoque *Britannia* curru, | *ustus* et Eoa decolor Indus aqua] *Ituraeos uiderunt...arcus...Hyrcania...tusus.*

IV iii 11 should be written thus: 'haecne marita fides *et* [*primae*] *praemia* noctis'. *hae sunt pactae mihi* DV, *et pacate mihi* F, [*et pactae mihi* O I fancy], *et parce auia* N, [*et prae mia* the archetype I fancy].

IV iii 29—62 should be arranged thus: 43—50 (so Mr Luetjohann), 29—32, 55 and 56, 33 and 34, 51 and 52, 35—42, 53 and 54, 59—62, 57 and 58.

IV iii 48 cum pater altas | *Africus* in glaciem frigore nectit aquas] *caelicus.*

IV iii 62 succinctique calent ad noua *lucra* popae] *lustra.*

IV iii 63 ne precor *ascensis* tanti sit gloria Bactris] *accensis.*

IV iv 17 and 18 should be placed after 86: Broukhusius placed them after 92.

IV iv 47 cras, ut rumor ait, tota *pugnabitur* urbe] *pigrabitur.*

IV iv 71 and 72 should be placed after viii 52.

IV iv 82 pacta ligat, *pactis* ipsa futura comes] *coeptis.*

IV iv 87 prodiderat portaeque fidem *patriam*que iacentem] Perhaps *patrem.*

IV v 19 and 20 should be written thus: '*exercebat* opus, uerbis *heu* blanda, *perinde* | saxosam *atque forat* sedula gutta uiam'. *exorabat...ceu...perure* MSS, *feratque* V, *que ferat* DFN, *forat* Messrs Rossberg and Palmer.

IV v 21 si te Eoa *derorantum* iuuat aurea ripa O, *dorozantum* N] *topazorum.*

IV v 29—62 should seemingly be arranged thus: 59—62 (so Mr Luetjohann), 41—44, 47—58, 45 and 46, 31 and 32, 29 and 30, 33—36, 39 and 40, 37 and 38.

IV vi 26 armorum *et radiis picta* tremebat aqua ON, *que* for *et* V man. 2] *radiisque icta. icta* Heinsius.

IV vi 34. After this verse should be placed III xviii 19 and 20, as follows: 'non ille attulerat crines in colla solutos | aut testudineae carmen inerme lyrae, | sed quali aspexit Pelopeum Agamemnona uultu | egessitque auidis Dorica castra rogis | (hic olim ignaros luctus populauit Achiuos | Atridae magno cum stetit alter amor), | aut quali flexos soluit Pythona per orbes' eqs.

IV vi 45 and 46 should be placed after 52.

IV vi 49 *quod*que vehunt prorae Centaurica saxa minantis] Perhaps *quot.*

IV vi 81 siue *aliquis* pharetris Augustus parcet Eois] Perhaps *aequus.*

IV vii 4 *murmur ad extremae* nuper humata *uiae*] He should have written *Tibure ad extremam...uiam.*

IV vii 23 at mihi non oculos quisquam inclamauit *euntis*] *eunti.*

IV vii 55—58 should be written thus: 'nam gemina est sedes turpem sortita*que ueram,* | *cumba*que diuersa remigat omnis aqua: | una Clytaemestrae stuprum uel adultera Cressam | portat mentitam lignea monstra bouis'. *per amnem turba* MSS.

IV vii 64 narrant historias, pectora *nota,* suas] *sancta.*

IV viii 1 disce quid Esquilias *hac nocte fugarit* aquosas] *nocte hac furiarit.*

IV viii 4 hic tibi tam *rarae* non perit hora morae] Perhaps *gratae.*

IV viii 9 and 10 should be placed after 12.

IV viii 39 should be written thus: '*unguentum,* tibicen erat, crotalistria, *phimus*'. *Nile tuus...phillis* MSS.

IV viii 52. After this verse should be placed iv 71 and 72 as follows: 'nec mora, cum totas resupinat Cynthia ualuas. | non operosa comis sed furibunda decens | illa ruit, qualis celerem prope Thermodonta | Strymonis abscisso pectus aperta sinu'.

IV ix 21 dixerat; *et* sicco torquet sitis ora palato] *at.*

IV ix 29 populus et *longis* ornabat frondibus aedem] *glaucis.*

IV ix 31 huc *ruit in siccam* congesta puluere *barbam*] Perhaps *in sicca ruit...labra.*

IV ix 60. Write 'haec lympha puellis, | auia secreti limitis *unda,* fluit'. *una* MSS.

IV ix 70 Hercule exterminium nescit inulta sitis] I had conjectured 'Herculea (extremum) nec sit inulta sitis'; but perhaps 'Herclei exterminium nec sit' is right.

IV x 19 and 20 should be placed after i 29, and 21 and 22 after i 28, as I have said.

IV x 23 and 24 should be placed as Passerat bids before 27; after 26 should be placed i 33—36 with Mr Lucian Mueller's transposition of 34 and 36: the passage should run thus: 'necdum ultra Tiberim belli sonus: ultima praeda | Nomentum et captae iugera terna Corae. | quippe suburbanae parua minus urbe Bouillae | ac tibi Fidenas longa erat ire uia; | et stetit Alba potens, albae suis omine nata, | et, qui nunc nulli, maxima turba Gabi. | Cossus at insequitur' eqs.

IV x 37 *di Latias* iuuere manus. *Romuleas* F, and D in marg.] *di Remulas,*

IV xi. The verses of this elegy should be arranged thus: 1—18, 47—54 (in 49 write *umbra* with Eldick), 19 (retain *aut*) —32, 43 and 44, 33—36, 45 and 46, 37—42, 55—62, 97 and 98, 65 and 66, 99 and 100, 69 and 70, 73 and 74, 63 (retain *te...te*) and 64, 75—96, 67 and 68, 71 and 72 (write *torum* with Schrader), 101 and 102. Mr Baehrens has placed 71 and 72 after 68.

IV xi 15 damnatae *noctes* et uos uada lenta paludes | et quaecumque meos implicat unda pedes] *testes.*

IV xi 40 quique tuas *proauo* fregit Achille domos O, *proauus* V man. 2] 'quique tuas proauus fregit, Auerne, domos' Munro: write *proauos.*

IV xi 50 turpior *assensu* non erit ulla meo] *accensu.*

IV xi 87 coniugium, pueri, *laudate* et ferte paternum] *durate.*

I hope I have managed to keep my neighbour's goods out of this catalogue, but I dare hardly expect it: at the very last moment I have cancelled an amendment of II xxxii 23 which I find was made forty years ago by Schneidewin and has been neglected by everyone since. To anyone who will enable me to restore misappropriated discoveries to their rightful owner I shall be honestly indebted. I now go on as I promised to comment on the text of the first elegy.

Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis
  contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.
tum mihi constantis deiecit lumina fastus
  et caput inpositis pressit Amor pedibus,
donec me docuit castas odisse puellas
  improbus et nullo uiuere consilio.
et mihi iam toto furor hic non deficit anno,
  cum tamen aduersos cogor habere deos.
Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores
  saeuitiam durae contudit Iasidos.
nam modo Partheniis amens errabat in antris
  ibat et hirsutas ille uidere feras;
ille etiam psilli percussus uulnere rami
  saucius Arcadiis rupibus ingemuit.

ergo uelocem potuit domuisse puellam:
  tantum in amore preces et bene facta ualent.
in me tardus Amor non ullas cogitat artes
  nec meminit notas, ut prius, ire uias.
at uos, deductae quibus est fallacia lunae
  et labor in magicis sacra piare focis,
en age dum dominae mentem conuertite nostrae
  et facite illa meo palleat ore magis.
tunc ego crediderim uobis et sidera et amnes
  posse cytalinis ducere carminibus.
et uos, qui sero lapsum reuocatis, amici,
  quaerite non sani pectoris auxilia.
fortiter et ferrum saeuos patiemur et ignes,
  sit modo libertas, quae uelit ira, loqui.
ferte per extremas gentes et ferte per undas,
  qua non ulla meum femina norit iter.
uos remanete, quibus facili deus annuit aure,
  sitis et in tuto semper amore pares:
in me nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras
  et nullo uacuus tempore defit Amor.
hoc, moneo, uitate malum: sua quemque moretur
  cura neque assueto mutet amore locum.
quod si quis monitis tardas aduerterit aures
  heu referet quanto uerba dolore mea.

3. Among all the four thousand verses of the poet there is not a sounder or simpler than this. Not only are such locutions as 'deiecit lumina' for 'effecit ut lumina deicerem' frequent in both tongues—see for example Hor. epist. I 5 22 'ne sordida mappa conruget uaris' and Eur. Hel. 1122 πολλοὶ δ' Ἀχαιῶν... Ἄιδαν μέλεον ἔχουσιν, τάλαιναν ὧν ἀλόχων κείραντες ἔθειραν— but the very words of Propertius are closely imitated in Ouid. her. XI 35 'erubui gremioque pudor deiecit ocellos'. Again, inasmuch as 'lumina fastus' is not Latin, the genitive here is of course the genetiuus qualitatis cum epitheto: 'constantis lumina fastus' = 'constanter fastosa' just as Hor. carm. III 7 4 'constantis iuuenem fide' = 'constanter fidelem'. Why then Fonteine should write in his margin 'tum me constantis deiecit

culmine fastus', why Burmann should propose 'tum mihi constanti deiecit lumina fastu', why Mr Paley should say 'the expression is a remarkable one', why both he and Mr Palmer should repeat Burmann's conjecture a hundred years late, why Hertzberg should be driven to Tartara leti and Mr Postgate to Roby 1304, I am unable to discern.

5. Fonteine does not himself say why he desires 'cunctas' for 'castas', but Mr Baehrens prolegg. p. XLVII gives his own reasons for adopting the conjecture: these I will examine. In II 3 1 an imaginary censor is made to address Propertius thus: 'qui nullam tibi dicebas iam posse nocere, | haesisti: cecidit spiritus ille tuus': these words, says Mr Baehrens, evidently refer to some passage in book I. But where in book I can this boast be found? nowhere: it must therefore be imported. This Mr Baehrens thinks he can do by writing here 'me docuit cunctas odisse puellas'. He states his reason, of which more anon, for deeming 'castas' corrupt, and proceeds 'immo omnes omnino feminas propter unius duritiem Propertium tum odisse innuere uidetur u. 30 (ferte per extremas gentes et ferte per undas, *qua non ulla meum femina norit iter*)'. Now the phrase 'cunctas odisse puellas' can mean either of two things: it can mean either to dislike women because you are indifferent to them, or to dread them because you are too susceptible: either of these two things, I say, it can mean, but it cannot mean both at once. In the latter of the two senses it will be appropriate enough to this elegy into which Mr Baehrens wants to bring it; but of course it will then be of no service whatever to Mr Baehrens as an equivalent for the 'nulla mihi iam potest nocere' of II 3 1. In the former of the two senses it will tally precisely with 'nulla mihi iam potest nocere'; but then it can by no possibility have a place in this elegy. This elegy is written by a man desperately in love: first he invokes magicians to turn his mistress's heart and colour her face paler *than his own;* failing that, he invokes his friends to cure him of his slavish attachment by surgery and cautery: 'nullo uacuus tempore defit Amor' he says; and we are asked to believe that he said in the same poem 'nulla mihi iam potest nocere'! That very verse 30 to which Mr

Baehrens appeals is his confutation: why must the poet be fleeing to the ends of the earth 'qua non ulla meum femina norit iter'? quia omnes feminae nocent. I may add that the Pompeian inscription C. I. L. IV 1520 'candida me docuit nigras odisse puellas' affords an indication, slight indeed, but still an indication, that the adjective here was at any rate not 'cunctas' but a descriptive epithet such as both 'nigras' and 'castas' are.

It remains to consider whether Mr Baehrens' objection to 'castas' is better supported than his advocacy of 'cunctas'. He writes 'uulgares meretrices qui sectabatur, is sine iusta causa querebatur de tristi Venere noctes in se exercente amaras (u. 33)'. Lachmann will answer him better than I: praef. p. XXIV 'tu ne dubita quin poeta se, Cynthia et castis puellis relictis (hoc erat illud: *peccaram semel et totum sum pulsus in annum*), iam per totum annum uiles quaerere et sine consilio queratur uiuere, aduersa tamen Venere et Cynthiae desertae memoria animum assidue subeunte. hunc uerum sensum esse certius fit ex his eiusdem carminis uersibus: *hoc, moneo, uitate malum. sua quemque moretur cura, neque assueto mutet amore locum*'. A very little consideration would have been enough to convince a scholar of Mr Baehrens' acumen that 'castas' was unimpeachably right and 'cunctas' the idlest of guesses.

11. But if critics have shewn morbid alertness above, they are cast into a deep sleep when they come to this verse. If a poet in the year 26 B.C. or thereabouts writes 'Milanion was *lately* roaming in the dells of Arcadia', he writes nonsense; yet no other meaning does the Latin tongue permit these words to bear. For if *modo* is to mean *ἐνίοτε μέν* it must be answered by an *ἐνίοτε δέ* in the shape of a second *modo* or of some other competent adverb such as *nunc, rursus, interdum, saepe, aliquando, non numquam;* and of course *etiam* in 13 is not a competent adverb. If rules like this, built up by wide and orderly induction, are to be overthrown at the bidding of fourteenth century MSS, goodnight to grammatical science. The MSS of Propertius exhibit the solecism four times in all, dutifully followed in every instance by all modern editors but

Mr Baehrens, and by Mr Baehrens in two instances. The verses II 24 9 sqq. run thus: 'quare ne tibi sit mirum me quaerere uiles: | parcius infamant: num tibi causa leuis? | et *modo* pauonis caudae flabella superbae | et manibus dura frigus habere pila | et cupit iratum talos me poscere eburnos | quaeque nitent Sacra uilia dona Via. | a peream si me ista mouent dispendia' eqs. Here, setting grammar aside, it is manifest and was remarked by Scaliger that 11 sqq. have not the remotest connexion in theme with the preceding verses: 11—16 are a fragment truncated of its head and inserted in a wrong place. Mr Baehrens therefore rightly marks a lacuna: his fellows print the lines as if they were coherent and grammatical. Mr Baehrens again is the only modern editor whose text of I 11 1—5 is Latin or sense: this is the vulgate: 'ecquid te mediis cessantem, Cynthia, Bais, | qua iacet Herculeis semita litoribus, | et *modo* Thesproti mirantem subdita regno | proxima Misenis aequora nobilibus, | nostri cura subit memores a ducere noctes?' This was corrected long ago by the Italians of the renascence and again by Scaliger: Propertius wrote in 4 'et modo Misenis aequora nobilibus': 'proxima' is the interpolation of a scribe who not perceiving that 'subdita' was to be repeated from the hexameter imagined 'Misenis' to be without construction. Mr Baehrens most justly points out that the corruption has robbed 'mediis Bais' (= mediis inter aequora Thesproti regno subdita et aequora Misenis subdita) of its meaning, and, he adds, 'effecit ut plane singulariter ei quod legitur u. 3 *et modo* desit cui respondeat'; but alas, we have already seen that the phenomenon is not unique even in Mr Baehrens' text. In III 14 9 sqq. the MSS order the verses thus: 'nunc ligat ad caestum gaudentia bracchia loris, | missile nunc disci pondus in orbe rotat; | gyrum pulsat equis, niueum latus ense reuincit | uirgineumque cauo protegit aere caput, | qualis Amazonidum nudatis bellica mammis | Thermodontiacis turba lauantur aquis, | et *modo* Taygeti, crines aspersa pruina, | sectatur patrios per iuga longa canes; | qualis et Eurotae Pollux et Castor harenis'. That 15 and 16 'et modo...canes' are out of their place is evident from the manifest continuity of 17 and 18 with 13 and 14; hence Scaliger followed by

Mr Baehrens places 15 and 16 after 12. But there too they separate lines which unmistakeably cohere (latus ense reuincit protegitque aere caput qualis Amazonidum turba, quae in Thermodonte lauatur)[1]; and *modo* remains solecistic. The right place for 15 and 16 is after 10: 'missile *nunc* disci pondus in orbe rotat, | et *modo* Taygeti' eqs.

To return to our starting point: not only does syntax unveil a fraud, but I find too an external token that the MSS are cheating us. The verses 9—16 are closely imitated by Ovid, ars am. II 185—192.

quid fuit asperius Nonacrina Atalanta? 185
subcubuit meritis trux tamen illa uiri.
saepe suos casus nec mitia facta puellae
flesse sub arboribus Milaniona ferunt.
saepe tulit iusso fallacia retia collo,
saepe fera toruos cuspide fixit apros. 190
sensit et Hylaei contentum saucius arcum;
sed tamen hoc arcu notior alter erat.

Now here 187—190 cover the same ground as 11 and 12 in Propertius: 11 in Propertius has the same theme as 187 and 188 in Ovid, the disconsolate wandering of the ill-used lover (see too ars am. I 731 'pallidus in Dirces siluis errabat Orion'); 12 in Propertius has the same theme as 189 and 190 in Ovid, the hard work of the chase at Atalanta's side. But in Ovid the two things are duly discriminated as happening one at one time, the other at another: to read Propertius you would fancy both happened at once. To be brief, with Ovid and Latin grammar for guides I infer that two verses have been lost between 11 and 12; lost through the recurrence of 'modo' in the same part of each hexameter. I have manufactured these stopgaps:

nam modo Partheniis amens errabat in antris
multaque desertis fleuerat arboribus,

[1] So, for example, Hor. epist. I 16 12 'fons etiam riuo dare nomen idoneus, ut nec frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus' = 'ut nec frigidior nec purior sit Hebrus, qui Thracam ambit'.

et modo submissa casses ceruice ferebat
ibat et hirsutas eqs.

12. The task of essaying to shew that 'uidere feras' has any meaning suitable to this place is undertaken by Markland and Lachmann: truly 'si Pergama dextris defendi possent, etiam his defensa fuissent'. They cite many passages and might have cited more to prove that 'uidere' can be used in the sense of 'adire' or 'experiri': yes, so it can, but with this marked limitation, that the substantive which is its object must signify either a *place* or a *condition*. Thus on the one hand you have *uidere turbatum nemus, Tartara, uasto sub antro Scyllam, ignota flumina, alium Phasin, insanum forum;* on the other *uidere mortem, casus marinos, tanta mala, nihil infesti, alios menses, alium annum altricemque niuem festinaque taedia uitae:* thus Propertius might have said *lustra uidere ferarum* had he so chosen, but say *uidere feras* for *encounter wild beasts* he could not. To this conviction Heinsius, Burmann and Mr Baehrens have borne witness by their conjectures; and in the fulness of time the verse has been most acutely corrected by Mr Palmer:

ibat et hirsutas *comminus* ille feras.

This phrase is copied word for word by Ovid fast. v 176 'in apros | audet et hirsutas comminus ire feras', and its sound he again echoes ex Pont. I 5 74 'aspicit hirsutos comminus Vrsa Getas'; Propertius repeats the construction II 20 22 'aut celer agrestes comminus ire sues' though III 1 26 he writes 'fluminaque Haemonio comminus isse uiro'. But how got 'comminus ille' changed to 'ille uidere'? In this way. But for the position of the single letter *s* there is virtually no difference between *comminus* and *conuisum:* now this transportation of a letter to some distance is a common freak in MSS much older and better than ours: Verg. Aen. IV 564 uario*s* MP *s*uario F, georg. IV 71 ae*s*ris M ari*e*s P; and in ours too: I 6 34 accepti par*s* ON acceptis par Prop., II 3 18 A*d*riana ON Ari*a*dna Prop., 29 36 uolu*n*tatis FN uolut*a*ntis Prop., III 13 31 uetustas F uestitas DVN, IV 11 53 cui*u*s rasos O cui s̃ra su*o*s (sacra) Prop. The scribe then who found himself confronted

with the unmetrical verse 'ibat et hirsutas conuisum ille feras' preserved the sense, such as it was, of 'ibat conuisum feras' and mended the metre by writing 'ille uidere'.

13. Volscus amended 'psilli' to 'Hylaei' by the light of Ovid's imitation quoted above 'sensit et Hylaei contentum saucius arcum'; Aelian too and Apollodorus agree that Atalanta was assaulted by Hylaeus. Some have been dissatisfied with this as straying too far from the MSS, and Hertzberg has proposed 'ille et Phyllei'; but *Phyllei rami* might be the club of a shepherd, a satyr, a river god or Pan himself as well as a centaur, with nothing in the context to point the allusion. I explain the corruption as follows: *Hylaei*, written *ilei*, was changed to *illi:* now the confusion of *ille* with *ipse* is perpetual, as II 4 17 (27) *ille* NV *ipse* DF, III 21 6 *ille* DV *ipse* FN, II 28 26 *illa* ON where *ipsa* must in my opinion be read (ipsa sepultura facta beata tua): I imagine then that *illi* stood here in some ancestor of our MSS, that a reader emended it from another MS thus *ps illi*, and that the next copyist misunderstanding the correction inserted the letters *ps* in a wrong place and gave us *psilli*.

VN uulnere, AF arbore. Lachmann has shewn that 'percussus uulnere rami' is irreproachable Latin; but that is not enough: the 'arbore' of half the MSS has to be accounted for: till that is done, nothing is done. This end is admirably achieved by Mr Baehrens' correction 'uerbere', which would be corrupted with about equal ease into '*a*rbore' and into '*uol*nere': in Ouid. met. IV 726 the MSS vary between 'uulnerat' and 'uerberat'. The phrase 'percussus uerbere' will be illustrated by Ouid. met. XIV 300 *percutimurque* caput conuersae *uerbere* uirgae' and Iuuen. XV 21 'tenui *percussum uerbere* Circes'.

16. *Such is the efficacy in love of prayers and service rendered.* Prayers! where has he said a word about prayers? They are not in the received text, there is no room for them in the lacuna which I have detected, there is no trace of them in Ovid's paraphrase. Those who to defend the credit of a scribe will impute any imbecility to a poet are, I suppose, capable of maintaining that Propertius here forgot what he had just said and imagined he had said something else. But even this loop-

hole is blocked by the careful and orderly planning of the entire passage: Propertius says (9, 10) that Milanion won Atalanta *nullos fugiendo labores;* then in 11 with the explanatory *nam* he proceeds to say what these *labores* were, namely (11) patient endurance of her cruelty, assistance (12) in the hunting field, hard knocks (13, 14) encountered in her defence; *therefore* (15) he won her; *such* (16) is the efficacy of...and deeds of merit. If the poet put *preces* in that gap, well might he cry to his friends 'quaerite non sani pectoris auxilia': the *ergo* of 15, the *tantum* of 16 pointedly invite attention to what has preceded, and there has preceded not a word, not a hint of *preces*. And yet this flagrant discrepancy has run the gauntlet of Scaliger, Heinsius, Hemsterhuys, Markland, Schrader and Lachmann, half a dozen of the greatest names in criticism, and has only been detected by the vigilance of Fonteine. Fonteine's conjectures are now first given to the world in Mr Baehrens' edition: many of them of course are the mere guesses which we all jot down in our margins simply to help us take up the thread of thought to-morrow where we drop it to-day, and although Mr Baehrens does well to print them entire, still most of them are necessarily worthless; but the residue betoken one of the most acute intellects that have ever been bent on the study of Propertius. Fonteine then proposed instead of 'preces' to read 'fides', a word most appropriate in itself and strongly confirmed by II 26 27 'multum in amore *fides*, multum constantia prodest:| qui durare potest multa, et amare potest', where the pentameter too recalls the 'nullos fugiendo labores' of our elegy. But, it may be said, the change is violent. No, that is not so: the same confusion recurs in Tibull. [Lygd.] III 4 64 'tu modo cum multa bracchia tende *prece*' G '*fide*' AV, 6 46 'aut fallat blanda subdola lingua *prece*' G excerpt. Paris. '*fide*' AV. Then turn to Hor. ars poet. 395 'dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor urbis, | saxa mouere sono testudinis et *prece* blanda | ducere quo uellet': even if you do not feel that 'prece' is a trifle ludicrous, still you will confess it is unique: neither Amphion nor Orpheus is elsewhere depicted as beseeching stocks and stones to follow him: the dead things are brought by the mere charm of song. Having regard then to carm. I 12 11 '*blandum* et

auritas *fidibus* canoris | ducere quercus' and 24 13 'quid si Threicio *blandius* Orpheo | auditam moderere arboribus *fidem*' I follow Peerlkamp when he reads '*fide* blanda'.

19. I conceive that so far as Latinity is concerned the words 'deductae fallacia lunae' may bear any one of three meanings. First, they may mean *false pretence of bringing down the moon:* a sense peremptorily forbidden by the context. Mr Lucian Mueller points out that Propertius cannot look for help to those whom he holds and asserts to be impostors, and that this argument is clinched by the 'tunc ego crediderim' of 23: Propertius now doubts whether the power of magic be real or no, but turn Cynthia's heart and he will believe. Secondly then, 'deductae fallacia lunae' may legitimately mean *deceiving men by bringing down the moon* on the analogy of Ouid. met. XIII 164 'deceperat omnes, | in quibus Aiacem, *sumptae fallacia uestis*'. But plainly this sense is no better than nonsense: if magicians bring down the moon as men believe them to do, then men are not deceived. Equally absurd is the third possible sense of the words, *deceiving the moon and bringing her down.* I know that 'Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit in nemora alta uocans', but in what sense do magicians *fallere lunam?* what conceivable *deceit* can they employ? manufacture a 'cerea effigies' of Endymion I suppose and lay it out on mountain-tops. The truth is that those who read and fancy they understand this passage translate 'deductae quibus est fallacia lunae' as Mr Postgate does, 'who *bewitch* the moon into coming down'. But the words cannot bear that meaning. Bewitchment comprises several departments, and of these departments *fallacia* is one: Prop. IV 5 14 'sua nocturno *fallere* terga lupo', Ouid. met. III 1 'iamque deus posita *fallacis* imagine tauri | se confessus erat', Verg. Aen. I 683 'tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam | *falle* dolo et notos pueri puer indue uoltus', georg. IV 441 'omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum, | ignemque horribilemque feram fluuiumque liquentem. | uerum ubi nulla fugam reperit *fallacia*, uictus | in sese redit': there you have bewitchment which is *fallacia.* But it does not follow that you can use *fallacia* in season and out of season as an equivalent for bewitchment. To lure the moon from heaven, ghosts from the

grave, the standing corn from a neighbour's field, is not *fallacia* but, as L. Fruterius and J. M. Palmerius 300 years ago perceived, *pellacia*. Seruius on Verg. buc. VIII 99 quotes from the twelve tables 'neue alienam segetem *pellexeris*', Pliny hist. nat. XVIII 6 8 § 41 has 'ceu fruges alienas *pelliceret* ueneficiis'. Now to shew the facility of the corruption: Verg. Aen. II 90 *pellacis* M, Velius Longus, Donatus, Seruius, *fallacis* P, Charisius; georg. IV 443 *fallacia* PRV, *phallacia* M, *pellacia b* (cod. Bern. saec. IX), '*fallacia*, legitur et *pellacia*' Philargyrus. Munro on Lucr. II 559 'placidi pellacia ponti' says 'Virgil has the adj. *pellax*: these two appear to be the only good writers who use the words': yes, but it is appearance only: if the MSS of Horace were as trusty in such matters, or the MSS of Propertius in any matters, as the MSS of Virgil and Lucretius, it would be another story. Horace in carm. III 7 professes to tell Asterie news of her absent Gyges: he lies awake all night weeping for her; and yet his hostess Chloe is in love with him and her minister tempts him by recounting her sighs, tells him what peril Bellerophon and Peleus incurred through continence, 'et (19) peccare docentis | *fallax* historias monet'. Now *fallere* can indeed signify seduction followed by desertion, but it is of course always the woman who in this sense *fallitur*, not the man: the reverse is absolutely meaningless in Greece, Rome or England. In these lines of Horace *fallax* can have but one meaning: it must mean that the 'nuntius' intends 'mentiri noctem, promissis ducere amantem', thus flatly disobeying the 'sollicita hospita' who sent him on his errand, and giving Gyges no chance to put his 'constans fides' to the proof: the whole poem is stultified. Write *pellax* with Bentley and all is straightforward. Finally in Prop. IV 1 135 we read 'at tu finge elegos, *fallax* opus, haec tua castra, | scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo': well, it is true that 'docere qua nuptae possint fallere ab arte uiros' is part of the office of elegy, but who could catch the allusion here with nothing to point it? the phrase would more naturally mean 'a slippery task'; a sense which is most inappropriate. The pentameter speaks loud for Heinsius' *pellax*, 'a fascinating, alluring task'; and it seems to me that Ovid with his 'imbelles elegi, genialis musa' imitates 'elegos, pellax opus'. To return then to the

first elegy, I can feel not the slightest doubt that 'deductae pellacia lunae' is what Propertius wrote. The construction of the sentence, I should add, is rightly explained by Mr F. Leo in vol. 35 of the *Rheinisches Museum* as 'uos quibus labor est deductae fallacia [pellacia] lunae et alter labor sacra piare'.

But what is 'sacra piare'? Hemsterhuys tells us '*sacra piare* usu uetusto nihil aliud quam sacra pie sollemnique ritu facere'. But Mr Lucian Mueller and others have rightly observed that 'sacra piare' in this sense is no peculiar office of magicians but common to all sacerdotes and indeed to the head of every Roman household. The mention is demanded of some magic portent answering the 'pellacia lunae' of the preceding verse. What this portent should be we shall be better able to judge when we have discussed verses 23 and 24.

Sidera et amnes ducere carminibus. Scores of times, when the ancients tell us of the wonders wrought by magic or by music, do they employ the verb *ducere*, its compounds and its synonyms; scores of times do they employ the substantive *amnes* and the other substantives which mean streams and rivers: never, save in this single place, do they employ the phrase *amnes ducere*. Here are the dealings of magic with rivers: Verg. Aen. IV 489 'haec se carminibus promittit... sistere aquam fluuiis', Tibull. I 2 46 'fluminis haec rapidi carmine uertit iter', Ouid. am. I 8 5 'illa magas artes Aeaeaque carmina nouit | inque caput liquidas arte recuruat aquas', II 1 25 'carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues | inque suos fontes uersa recurrit aqua', her. VI 87 'illa refrenat aquas obliquaque flumina sistit', met. VII 153 'uerbaque ter dixit... quae concita flumina sistunt', 198 'adeste | quorum ope, cum uolui, ripis mirantibus amnes | in fontes rediere suos', remed. amor. 257 (he disclaims magic) 'ut solet, aequoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas', Petron. 134 'his ego callens | artibus Idaeos frutices in gurgite sistam | et rursus fluuios in summo uertice ponam', Sen. Med. 763 'cantu meo...uiolenta Phasis uertit in fontem uada | et Hister in tot ora diuisus truces | compressit undas omnibus ripis piger', Luc. Phars. VI 472 'de rupe pependit | abscissa fixus torrens, amnisque cucurrit | non qua pronus erat', Sil. Punic. VIII 502 'Aeetae prolem...stridoribus amnes |

frenantem', Val. Fl. Arg. VI 443 'mutat agros fluuiumque uias', Claud. in Rufin. I 159 'uersaque non prono curuaui flumina lapsu | in fontes reditura suos', Appul. met. I 3 'magico susurramine amnes agiles reuerti', 8 'saga, inquit, et diuina, potens... fontes durare, montes diluere', Apoll. Rhod. Arg. III 532 *καὶ ποταμοὺς ἵστησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεινὰ ῥέοντας*. Here are the dealings of music with rivers: Verg. buc. VIII 4 'quorum stupefactae carmine lynces | et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus', Hor. carm. I 12 9 'arte materna rapidos morantem | fluminum lapsus', Prop. III 2 3 'Orphea delenisse feras et concita dicunt | flumina Threicia sustinuisse lyra', Ouid. fast. II 84 'quae nescit Ariona tellus? | carmine currentes ille tenebat aquas', met. XIV 338 'et mulcere feras et flumina longa morari | ore suo uolucresque uagas retinere solebat', Calpurn. II 15 'affuerunt sicco Dryades pede, Naides udo, | et tenuere suos properantia flumina cursus'. Thus *amnes sistere, amnes uertere*, come over and over again; *amnes ducere* never. Now this cannot be accident, for *lunam ducere, sidera, segetes, umbras, saxa, quercus ducere*, are for ever recurring: what then is the reason? The reason is the simplest in the world. Music and magic work miracles, invert the order of nature: thus Lucan Phars. VI 437 'Haemonidum...quarum, *quidquid non creditur*, ars est': this he proceeds to illustrate, 'calido producunt nubila Phoebo | et tonat ignaro caelum Ioue', 'uentis cessantibus aequor | intumuit: rursus uetitum sentire procellas | conticuit turbante noto, puppimque ferentes | in uentum tumuere sinus', 'Nilum non extulit aestas, | Maeander derexit aquas, Rhodanumque morantem | praecipitauit Arar. submisso uertice montes | explicuere iugum: nubes suspexit Olympus. | solibus et nullis Scythicae, cum bruma rigeret, | dimaduere niues'; so Appuleius l. l. ascribes to his witch the power 'caelum deponere, terram suspendere, fontes durare, montes diluere, manes sublimare, deos infimare, sidera extinguere, Tartarum ipsum illuminare'. Such miracles, such inversions of nature, *amnes sistere* and *amnes uertere* are; but *amnes ducere* is nothing of the sort: it is one of the commonest operations of Italian agriculture: Virgil's graceful picture of the process is familiar to everyone. A man would no more dream of invoking incantations to *amnes*

ducere than to shave his chin or cook his dinner; and when this every-day work of the farmer is coupled with the 'sidera ducere' of the magician, the absurdity is doubled. There are those who, if we had 'amnes et sidera ducere', would take sanctuary at the shrine of Zeugma and pretend that 'sistere' or 'uertere' might be mentally supplied to 'amnes'; but as ill luck will have it the order of the words is 'sidera et amnes ducere' and retreat in that direction is cut off. Propertius then did not write what the MSS give: what did he write? No feat of magic is more renowned than the evocation of departed spirits: Lucan in Phars. VI, Statius in Theb. IV, Silius in Punic. XIII raise the dead to life till they tire the reader to death, and Valerius Flaccus has a brief episode of the sort at the end of Arg. I: pages might be filled with allusions scattered throughout the poets, but I here content myself with passages where the power of magic over the dead is coupled with its power over the heavenly bodies. Such are Verg. Aen. IV 489 'haec se carminibus promittit...uertere *sidera* retro, | nocturnosque mouet *manis*', Hor. epod. 17 78 'polo | deripere *lunam* uocibus possim meis, | possim crematos excitare *mortuos*', Tibull. I 2 45 'hanc ego de caelo ducentem *sidera* uidi, | fluminis haec rapidi carmine uertit iter, | haec cantu finditque solum *manes*que sepulcris | elicit et tepido deuocat ossa rogo. | iam tenet *infernas* magico stridore *cateruas*, | iam iubet aspersas lacte referre pedem', Ouid. am. I 8 11 'sanguine, siqua fides, stillantia *sidera* uidi, | purpureus *lunae* sanguine uultus erat...17 euocat antiquis *proauos atauosque* sepulchris | et solidam longo carmine findit humum', met. VII 205 'iubeoque tremescere montes | et mugire solum *manes*que exire sepulcris; | te quoque, *Luna*, traho', remed. amor. 253 'me duce non tumulo prodire iubebitur *umbra*, | non anus infami carmine rumpet humum, | non seges ex aliis alios transibit in agros | nec subito *Phoebi* pallidus orbis erit. | ut solet, aequoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas, | ut solet, in niueis *luna* uehetur equis', Sen. Herc. Oet. 460 'mea iussi prece | *manes* loquuntur...468 carmine in terras mago | descendat astris *luna* desertis licet', Val. Fl. Arg. VI 447 'quamuis Atracio *lunam* spumare ueneno | sciret et Haemoniis agitari cantibus *umbras*', Claud. in Rufin. I 146 'noui, quo

Thessala cantu | eripiat *lunare iubar*...154 saepius horrendos *manes* sacrisque citaui | nocturnis Hecaten, et condita *funera* traxi | carminibus uictura meis'. To these passages I should add

> tunc ego crediderim et manes et sidera uobis
> posse Cytinaeis ducere carminibus.

Verg. Aen. IV 34 *manis* GMPR *amnis* F, 490 *manis* MP *amnis* F, II 296 *manibus* FMP *amnibus* V: in our MSS too this inversion of two consecutive letters is frequent: I 3 27 *duxit* ON for *duxti*, 14 24 *alcioni* D for *Alcinoi*, II 6 6 *Phyrne* DVN for *Phryne*, 8 39 *marte* ON for *matre*, 13 55 *paludibus* DVN *plaudibus* F, 28 29 *herodias* DV for *heroidas*, III 5 35 *palustra* F for *plaustra*, 7 61 *alcinoum* F *alcionum* DV, 13 24 *ipa* F for *pia*, 55 *et* ON for *te*, 15 41 *parta* for *prata*, IV 5 74 *caltra* for *clatra*. When the unmetrical 'crediderim et amnes et sidera uobis' was thus produced, there was nothing for it but to arrange the words as they stand in the MSS to-day: similar transpositions for metre's sake will be found at II 9 18, 10 2, 13 38, 23 1, IV 2 39, 3 7, 8 1.

In 24 the good MSS have *Cȳtalinis, Citalinis, Cythalinis, Cithalinis,* which all come to the same thing and have all alike no meaning; the bad MSS have the impossible forms *Cytaeinis* or *Cytainis:* scholars have conjectured *Cytaei tuis, Cytaeaeis, Cytaines, Cytaiacis.* But the correction which is at once nearest to the MSS and most appropriate in sense is Hertzberg's *Cytinaeis.* Hertzberg, whose confidence in his own conjectures usually bears an inverse proportion to their value, did not place it in his text; and it seems thus to have escaped subsequent editors, until Mr Postgate, who again at I 16 13 has recalled an excellent but neglected emendation of Scaliger's, has most properly accepted it. I say 'CytIN-AEis' is nearer to 'CytAL-INis' than are any of the other conjectures, because this permutation of syllables is one of the commonest phenomena: the first instances which occur to me are Verg. Aen. XI 711 *rapu* M for *pura* and Hor. carm. I 36 17 *trespu* δ for *putres:* so in Prop. I 2 13 I write *su-per-a-nt-de-picta* for *per-su-a-de-nt-picta:* but I will now cite only examples where this change is accompanied by the change of one letter, as here of E into L: II 32 17

fall*eris* ON for fall*is et*, 34 53 resta*bit er*ūpnas F resta*uerit* undas DV, III 5 24 spars*it et* F spars*erit* DV, 23 21 retul*it et* F rettule*rit* DVN, IV 1 106 umbra*que ne* O for umbra*ue quae*. As to the word, Hertzberg cites Lycophr. 1389 Λακμώνιοί τε καὶ Κυτιναῖοι, Κόδροι and Steph. Byz. Κύτινα· πόλις Θεσσαλίας, ὡς Θέων ἐν ὑπομνήμασι Λυκόφρονος· ὁ πολίτης Κυτιναῖος: now in the palinode to this elegy III 24 9 and 10 you have 'quod mihi non patrii poterant auertere amici | eluere aut uasto *Thessala* saga mari'. And this emendation will at once confirm my correction of the hexameter and derive confirmation thence. Necromancy, above all other forms of magic, was Thessalian: see Stat. Theb. III 141 'Thessalis...cui *gentile nefas* hominem reuocare canendo' and 559 where '*Thessalicum nefas*' stands κατ' ἐξοχήν for necromancy.

So we have settled the reading of 23 and 24: now we are better equipped for discussing 'sacra piare' in 20. Just as 'deductae pellacia lunae' tallies with 'sidera ducere' so we shall expect 'sacra piare' to tally with 'manes ducere'. This expectation will be strengthened if we observe how frequently *piare* is used with *manes* or the like: IV 7 34 'fracto busta piare cado', Verg. Aen. VI 379 'ossa piabunt', Ouid. fast. V 426 'compositique nepos busta piabat aui', met. VI 569 'piacula manibus infert', XIII 514 'hostilia busta piasti', Cic. in Pison. 16 'a me quidem etiam poenas expetistis, quibus coniuratorum manes mortuorum expiaretis': in Petron. 137 Burmann perhaps rightly reads 'expiare manes pretio licet' for 'manus'. That *manes piare* would be a natural accompaniment of *manes ducere* is shewn by Cic. in Vatin. 14 'cum *inferorum animas elicere*, cum puerorum extis *deos manes mactare* soleas'. Now turn to III 1 1 'Callimachi *manes* et Coi *sacra* Philetae, | in uestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus'. You cannot ask the *sacred rites* of Philetas for permission to do this or that, least of all when in the same breath you address the same request to the *spirit* of Callimachus. I hold it to be as certain as aught in these matters can be that in I 1 20 and III 1 1 either 'sacra' means 'manes' or else it is the corruption of another word which means 'manes'. That 'sacra' stood for 'manes' was maintained by Dousa in the former place and by Broukhusius

in the latter; but this contention they entirely failed to establish by examples, and indeed it seems inconceivable that 'sacra' could come to have any such signification. So I infer that 'sacra' is in both places a corruption of the same word; and that word I think has been restored by Fonteine in the one place and by Mr Baehrens in the other: 'fata'. No two words I suppose are more commonly confused than *fata* and *facta:* see II 28 26, IV 1 71, 11 70: and how easily '*facta*' would become '*sacra*' may be seen from the following blunders all culled within the compass of seven lines: 29 ferre A for ferte, 30 semina A for femina, 31 remanere A for remanete, 34 desit AN for defit, 35 uitare F for uitate. Forcellini cites Mela for *fatum = umbra,* but I think we can find better authority than Mela. In Hor. carm. I 24 15 sqq. we read 'num uanae redeat sanguis imagini, | quam uirga semel horrida | non lenis precibus fata recludere | nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi?' and it is usual to explain 'fata recludere' with Lambinus as 'fati nexus et necessitatem resoluere ac rescindere'. But there is no semblance of authority for such a use of 'recludere': if 'fata' here means destiny, then the words 'fata recludere' can only mean what 'pandere fata' means in Luc. Phars. VI 590, namely 'aperire futura'; and this meaning is totally foreign to the context. I believe then that 'fata recludere' = 'Orcum recludere': the lexicons will shew that the use of 'recludere' and its synonyms in regard of the infernal regions is very frequent. Again in Luc. Phars. VI 652 'nam quamuis Thessala uates | uim faciat *fatis,* dubium est, quod traxerit illuc, | aspiciat Stygias, an quod descenderit, umbras' the context seems to indicate that *fatis = manibus.* I think then that Propertius enjoys his own again when Fonteine writes 'in magicis fata piare focis'.

25. Hemsterhuys' correction 'aut' for 'et' is adopted by Lachmann, Hertzberg, Haupt, Mr L. Mueller and Mr Baehrens: three English editors, Mr Paley, Mr Palmer and Mr Postgate, all retain 'et' and do not seem to have the faintest suspicion of its entire absurdity. 'I am surprised' Mr Paley gravely says 'that Lachmann, Hertzberg, Müller, and Kuinoel should have admitted, and Jacob approved, *aut uos,* the conjecture of Hemsterhuis'; Mr Postgate acquiesces: '*et,* as Paley rightly with

the MSS for *aut* edd.'; Mr Palmer reads 'et' in silence. These three scholars award the poetry of Propertius commendation which I think too high; yet they impute to him without scruple the stupidity of praying that Cynthia may begin to love him *and* that he may cease to love Cynthia. If the impossibility of the MS reading is not made plain by this naked statement of its sense, pages of argument will be vain; nor can I hope that those who are deaf to Hemsterhuys will listen to me.

33. I agree with Mr Baehrens that 34 means *Cupid is never idle, never absent:* if you take 'uacuus amor' to be ungratified passion you get the wonderful circumlocution *absence of fruition is never absent.* If then Amor in the pentameter is the god, Venus in the hexameter is the goddess. But 'nostra' has thus no meaning, and is altered accordingly by Francius to 'dura' and by Mr Baehrens to 'maesta': the latter appositely quotes I 14 15 'nam quis diuitiis *aduerso* gaudet *Amore?* | nulla mihi *tristi* praemia sint *Venere*'. There is however another difficulty unremoved: it must I think be conceded to Mr Postgate that 'in me noctes exercet' is harsh and quite unexampled. I propose to abolish both difficulties at once by this very slight alteration:

me non nostra Venus noctes exercet amaras

'noctes amaras' being then acc. of duration like Horace's 'longas pereunte noctes'. The use of *meus tuus suus noster uester* = *secundus* is well known: in III 13 56 Mr Baehrens rightly reads with O 'te scelus accepto Thracis Polymestoris auro | nutrit in hospitio non, Polydore, *tuo*' against the '*pio*' of N; and this makes it all the stranger that he should miss the same use in II 25 31. There we find 'tu tamen interea, quamuis te diligat illa, | in tacito cohibe gaudia clausa sinu; | namque in amore *suo* semper sua maxima cuique | nescio quo pacto uerba nocere solent. | quamuis te persaepe uocet, sepelire memento'; and Mr Baehrens to my surprise says 'malim *nouo*': *suo* = *secundo*, see 27 'mendaces ludunt flatus in amore secundi'. Thus then 'non nostra Venus' is 'aduersa Venus'. The change of *non*, abbreviated $\bar{n}$, to *in* is easy: in IV 5 9 F has *inducere* for *non ducere*, and in IV 1 124 I think all our MSS have the same error:

'qua nebulosa cauo rorat Meuania campo | et lacus aestiuis intepet Vmber aquis'. Since 'intepet' is not a Latin word Mr Lucian Mueller writes 'si tepet', Mr Baehrens 'ut tepet': better than either, if I am not mistaken, will be 'non tepet'. Their chill in the heat of summer is the natural praise of streams and lakes: 'te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile fessis uomere tauris praebes'; and Pliny epist. VIII 8 describing the source of the Clitumnus, perhaps this very *lacus Vmber*, says 'rigor aquae certauerit niuibus, nec color cedit'. The alteration of 'me in nostra Venus' to 'in me' would be demanded by grammar and metre alike, and would perhaps be helped by the occurrence of 'in me' at the beginning of verse 17.

Of Mr Postgate's conjecture 'in me nostra Venus uoces exercet amaras' 'against me my darling plies her bitter speech' I am at a loss to know what to say. There is some justice in Mr Baehrens' contention that the estranged and obdurate Cynthia can hardly be called by the endearing name 'nostra Venus'; but that is nothing: the alteration makes nonsense of the whole elegy from beginning to end. Mr Postgate tells his readers on p. XXII of his Introduction that Lachmann's explanation of the circumstances of this poem seems to him unquestionably correct: he holds, that is, and in my opinion rightly holds, that this poem was written when Propertius had been banished from Cynthia's presence for a year; and yet he makes her 'ply her bitter speech against' Propertius, from whom she was as many miles asunder as Hypanis is from Eridanus of the Veneti! If this is the attention to context with which conjectural emendation is practised, no wonder that many students of the classics regard it as a game played merely for the amusement of the conjectural emendator. The corruption is not even new: 'uoces' is the reading of the codex Hamburgensis, where everyone hitherto has left it lying justly contemned among a hundred other blunders almost equally worthless. But I imagine that these considerations will have occurred ere now to Mr Postgate himself, or will have been pointed out to him by his friends.

36. So far as I am aware no one has even attempted to prove by examples that *mutare locum* can have the metaphorical

sense *to be inconstant* which is here required; nor do I believe there are examples to prove it. And even were such a sense established, still Propertius durst not employ it here. A reader fresh from 'ferte per extremas gentes et ferte per undas' and 'uos remanete' must necessarily at first sight be tempted to take 'mutet locum' literally; indeed in some commentaries it is actually so explained, despite the hopeless shipwreck of sense which such an interpretation causes. Markland with his usual acumen first detected the fault; but his alteration of 'locum' to 'nouum' is a violent remedy. Mr A. Otto in the *Philologische Wochenschrift* for 1884 has proposed 'torum' comparing IV 8 28 '*mutato* uolui castra mouere *toro*', and five or six years ago I noted down the same conjecture and the same parallel: this I mention not as wishing to wrangle with Mr Otto for ownership but merely because some weight is justly given to such coincidences. The confusion of *t* and *l* I need not exemplify; for *r* and *c* see II 6 21 *capere* F for *rapere*, 25 45 *sandyris* V for *sandicis*, 34 33 *rursus* ON for *cursus*, III 6 36 *cursu* DV for *rursus*, IV 1 83 *capacis* F for *rapacis*, 89 *Arria* FN *Accia* DV, 4 12 *foco* ON for *foro*, 72 *fertur* for *pectus*, 8 53 *recidere* D for *cecidere*. In Sen. Herc. Fur. 21 'escendat licet | meumque uictrix teneat Alcmene *locum*' I think 'escendat' shews Bentley's '*torum*' to be right. Then in Ouid. met. XI 471 sqq. 'ut nec uela uidet, uacuum petit anxia *lectum* | seque *toro* ponit. renouat *lectus*que *locus*que | Alcyonae lacrimas et, quae pars, admonet, absit' will any student of Ovid's style deny that the parallelism requires 'lectusque *torus*que'? if he does, let him mark the next verse and ask himself whether *pars loci* or *pars tori* is the better sense.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

October, 1886.

MISCELLANEA CRITICA.

Terence *Eun.* 4. 4. 21.

Py. Hic est vetus, vietus, veternosus senex,
Colore mustelino. Ph. Hem, quae haec est fabula?

Bentley has a characteristic note on this passage proposing *stellionino* for *mustelino*, because weasels or cats (*mustelae*) are not all of the same colour, nor the same colour on all parts of the body. It is difficult to see how an old man could be compared to a lizard[1]. But Bentley thought he was backed up by the remark of Donatus that Menander here had γαλεώτης[1] a lizard, *stellio*, and he supposed that Terence either mistook it for γαλῆ, *mustela*, or intentionally substituted the latter word. Others have surmised that Menander wrote γαλεώδης (γαλεός—εἶδος), but it is more unlikely still that an old man would be likened to a fish. I suggest that Menander did write γαλεώδης γέρων but that γαλεώδης was here formed, comically, from γαλῆ—οζω—and that Terence either mistook it to come from γαλῆ—εἶδος or what is more likely wrote *odore* (or *cum odore*) *mustelino*. Readers of Aristophanes do not need to be reminded of the smell of the γαλῆ.

Heauton Timorumenos 4. 1. 32.

Mi Chremes, peccavi, fateor: vincor. Nunc hoc te obsecro
Quanto tuus est animus natu gravior, ignoscentior,
Ut meae stultitiae in iustitia tua sit aliquid praesidi.

[1] Liddell and Scott s. γαλεώτης translate γ. γέρων an old man 'as grey as a cat,' but I do not see that this rendering is justified.

In the second line I read:

Quanto tuust animus natur*a* gravior, *fi* ignoscentior.

Bentley saw that an imperative was wanted before *ignoscentior*, but he quite rewrote the verse to bring in *tanto es*. The imperative *fi* is used quite thus: Plaut. Curc. 1. 1. 87: *fi mi obsequens:* Pers. 1. 1. 39: *fi benignus.*

PLAUTUS, *Curculio* 5. 15.

TH. Nec mihi quidem libertus ullus est. LY. Facis sapientius
Quam pars lenonum libertos qui habent et eos deserunt.

I do not here address myself to the question whether *latronum* should be read for *lenonum* or not. A difficulty occurs to me, which seems not to have struck anyone else, as to *sapientius*. It is evident that wisdom is not at stake when a man deserts his freedman: that may or may not be wise according to circumstances. But it is always a breach of duty. I therefore propose:

facis *pientius*
Quam pars lenonum (?) libertos qui habent et eos deserunt.

I am aware that *pientius* occurs nowhere else. But if a comparative of *pie* existed in the time of Plautus, that comparative certainly was *pientius*. Cicero, as is well known, censured Mark Antony for using the superlative *piissimus*, and the superlative *pientissimus* is frequently found in inscriptions. This would point to a comparative *pientior*, *pientius*. As to the propriety of *pie* with *desero* there can be no question. Cf. Ter. Ad. 3, 4. 13: Si *deseris* tu periimus—Cave dixeris: Neque faciam, neque me satis *pie* posse arbitror.

Persa 434 [3. 3. 30].

Ubi quid credideris, citius extemplo a foro
Fugiunt, quam ex porta ludis quom emissust lepus.

One of Plautus's many jibes at the frequent suspensions of payment on the part of Roman bankers. What gate is meant in the second line? The gate of the circus, says Ussing. Whither, then, did the hare run so fast? Into the arena? This would

be to meet his foes, the dogs: for surely the hare was enlarged for a coursing match. Or away from the circus, outwards? This would be prevented, and the spectators would not see it, even if it did occur. I suggest that the hare was carried in a cage or hamper into the middle of the arena, and enlarged there for the course: and I read *ex sporta*. The *sporta* was a box or hamper of wicker-work used for various purposes, and doubtless of various sizes: fishing-baskets for instance were called *sportae:* fowls were fattened shut up in *sportae*, so tightly shut in, as only to be able to exsert their beaks to peck their food: a fragment of Sallust tells us that on some occasion unknown to us dogs were let down from walls in *sportae:* though in this passage it has been proposed to read *panes* for *canes* without the slightest warrant. Acidalius was doubtless right in reading in Merc. 5 4. 28 *Jam obsecro hercle habete vobis cum sportis cum fiscina* where the mss. give the utterly unintelligible *porcis*. 'Take and keep her baskets and hamper!' the metaphor being perhaps from the sale of a donkey or mule.

Persa 815 [5. 2. 39].

Do. Ego pol vos eradicabo. Pa. At te ille, qui supra nos habitat
Qui tibi male volt maleque faciet. Non hi dicunt, verum ego.

The first verse must be scanned, if the above reading is sound, as an octonarius. But the next verse and those which follow are septenarii. We should probably read *habet* for *habitat*, in the same sense, a sense which *habet* frequently bears in Plautus. It may be necessary to give *supera* for *supra*, but *sūpra* may have been the only scansion known to Plautus.

Rudens 847 [3. 6. 20].

Post huc redito atque agitato hic custodiam.
Ego hunc scelestum in ius rapiam †exulem†.
Age, ambula in ius.

Plesidippus drags Labrax before the praetor, to institute proceedings for the recovery of Palaestra whom he had bought, and given a deposit for, but whom the *leno* was attempting to

carry off by force. Such an action would be called, in Greek I think, ἐξούλης δίκη[1], and in the corrupt *exulem* we should, I think, recognise ἐξούλης. There are several Greek words in the play translitterated, as *anancaeo* 361. Then *dica* may have fallen out at the end of the line under *diam* at the end of the previous line: nothing is commoner than this.

Ego hunc scelestum in ius rapiam, exules dica

or *dicam* in apposition with the sentence. *dicam* would be quite right here: see Aul. 4. 10. 30: Iam quidem hercle te ad praetorem rapiam, et tibi scribam dicam.

Rudens 811 [3. 5. 42].

Iam hoc Herculi est Veneris fanum quod fuit.

Read *fit* for *est* instead of inserting *modo* after *Veneris* with Ussing. *fio* is proper in metamorphoses.

Trinummus 885 [4. 2. 43].

Si ante lucem ire occipias a meo primo nomine
Concubium sit noctis prius quam ad postremum perveneris.

This sycophant must have had even more names than the pious farmer, who chose twenty-six names from Scripture, beginning with every letter of the alphabet, wished to give his son. We shall greatly improve the metre and add to the hyperbole by inserting *itere* after *ire:* 'to go on a journey' from his first name to his last is surely more forcible than simply 'to go.' I say *after* ire, because there is a lacuna in B, of six letters according to Ritschl. The archaic ablative *itere* may easily have been omitted after *ire.* Ussing inserts Ritschl's maid of all work, *hercle,* after *ire.*

Truculentus 503 [2. 6. 27].

Iam magnust? iamne eit ad legionem? ecquae spolia rettulit?

ASTAPHIUM.

Ere nudius quintus natus quidem illic est. ST. Quid postea?

[1] Harpocration quotes ἐξούλης from the comic poet Phrynichus: ὅτι δὲ ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐκβαλλομένου τάττεται τοὔνομα καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἴεται Καικίλιος μόνος τῶν ἐκ καταδίκης ὀφειλόντων, καὶ Φρύνιχος ἐν Προαστρίαις δῆλον ποιεῖ.

Spengel's reading of the first line as given above seems correct. It appears strange that *Gerrae!* 'nonsense!' does not seem to have struck anyone for the corrupt *ere* in the second verse[1].

EURIPIDES, *Medea* 886.

ἦ χρῆν μετεῖναι τῶνδε τῶν βουλευμάτων
καὶ ξυμπεραίνειν καὶ παρεστάναι λέχει
νύμφην τε κηδεύουσαν ἥδεσθαι σέθεν.

νύμφην κηδεύουσαν is, as Mr Verrall remarks, a not easily intelligible expression. Probably we should read *κηπεύουσαν*. There would be intentional bitter coarseness in both *ξυμπεραίνειν* and *κηπεύουσαν*, though both words in another context might be quite free from anything of the kind. *κηπεύειν* is a Euripidean word; here it seems that the beginning of *ἥδεσθαι* immediately following caused the change of *κηπ-* to *κηδ-*.

A. PALMER.

P.S. Dr Jackson has kindly sent me the following interesting letter:

CROFT COTTAGE, BARTON ROAD, CAMBRIDGE,
1 *Dec.*, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR,

Here is a parallel to one of the emendations which you sent me the other day. "For these critics have often presumed that that which they understand not is false set down: as the Priest that where he found it written of St Paul, *Demissus est per sportam* mended his book, and made it *Demissus est per portam*, because *sporta* was an hard word, and out of his reading." Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* II xix = p. 414, Ellis and Spedding.

Yours very truly,

HENRY JACKSON.

[1] *Erre* (ἔρρε) is another possibility. Cf. *apage*.

LIFE AND POEMS OF JUVENAL.

It is sometimes necessary to distinguish between the position which an author holds in the world of letters at large, and that which a nearer consideration of the circumstances of his life and times would dispose the student of history to assign him. The literary reputation of Juvenal is a case in point. The scourge of a corrupt age, the master of moral indignation, the great representative of the most original production of the Latin genius; such is the idea of Juvenal which may be said to have prevailed, and still to prevail, in the modern literary world[1]. I am far from saying that such an estimate is false, but I think it partial and inadequate. Take Juvenal at his own estimate, assume that the pictures which he draws of contemporary life are in the main correct, study him alone and leave the younger Pliny and Quintilian and Suetonius and the inscriptions unread, and the ordinary view of Juvenal becomes the natural one. But literary criticism must in the present day be based upon history; and studied historically the position of the famous satirist will, if I am not mistaken, appear to be a peculiar and personal one, and his satires, though containing a large element of truth, to represent the partial and exaggerated views natural in such circumstances.

[1] This view seems in the main to be that of Professor Mayor, if I may judge by the preface to his new edition. I wish it clearly to be understood that, while I venture to differ from Mr Mayor's general estimate of Juvenal's moral position, I cannot adequately express my admiration for his edition and indeed for his many unique contributions to Latin scholarship and the history of Latin literature. I suppose that in wealth of learning and freshness of interest combined, Mr Mayor holds a position occupied by no scholar since Casaubon.

It is strange that so little should be known about the life of so celebrated a writer. The biographies prefixed to his satires in the manuscripts are as numerous as they are unsatisfactory. Of these lives there are nine, seven of which are printed by Otto Jahn in his edition of 1851. An eighth was published from a Harleian MS by Rühl in the *Neue Jahrbücher* of 1854; a ninth, which I am sorry to say adds nothing to the information conveyed by the others, I have myself found in a Bodleian manuscript of the thirteenth century. In point of Latin style, and presumably therefore of antiquity, the best of these memoirs is that printed by Jahn as No. 1. The author imitates the style of Suetonius, but not his clearness or accuracy. Of this memoir Borghesi rightly observes that Suetonius could never have written in so unsatisfactory a way of so distinguished a contemporary.

The biographies all agree that Juvenal was the son or ward of a freedman, that he was born at Aquinum, that he practised declamation till middle life (*ad mediam aetatem*[1]) and that he was banished in consequence of an attack made upon an actor. The date of his birth is variously given in the three memoirs which mention the fact. Two (2 and 9, Canon.) put it in the reign of Claudius Nero (Claudius), the other in that of Nero Claudius (Nero). The accounts of his exile present equally serious discrepancies. For while one tradition (Lives 1, 2, 4, 7 and Schol. Iuv. 4 38) represents him as banished to Egypt, another (5, 6) relegates him to Scotland, or the Scottish border. Again, in the accounts of the time and circumstances of his exile there are irreconcilable differences. According to (1) he was banished in his eightieth year, and died soon afterwards; according to (4) he was banished by Domitian[2], and remained in exile, altering and enlarging his satires, till he died in the reign of Antoninus Pius: according to

[1] For *media aetas* Mr Mayor quotes Plautus Aulularia 157, and Phaedrus 2 2 3: we may add Celsus 1 3 *inediam facillime sustinent mediae aetates, minus iuvenes, minime pueri et senectute confecti:* Martial 10 32 3 *talis erat Marcus mediis Antonius annis Primus.*

[2] So Schol. Iuv. 4 38: Schol. 7 92 makes him banished by Nero: Schol. 15 27 says he was in Egypt, not that he was banished thither.

(5) he was banished by Trajan to Scotland and died there soon afterwards.

The tradition however is uniform that the pretext for his exile was furnished by some verses which he had written against the *pantomimus* Paris, a favourite of Domitian. The verses were, it is stated, inserted into the seventh satire (v. 90 foll.) *Quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio: tu Camerinos et Baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas? Praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.* This story is confirmed to a certain extent by some lines of Sidonius Apollinaris (Carm. 9 270—275) *Non qui tempore Caesaris secundi Aeterno incoluit Tomos reatu, Nec qui consimili deinde casu Ad vulgi tenuem strepentis auram Irati fuit histrionis exul.*

If any reliance can be placed on these words of Sidonius, if indeed we can be sure that they refer to Juvenal at all, and not to some other poet, then Juvenal must have been banished for having said or written something not only offensive to an actor but unpopular with the pit and gallery. If the actor was Paris the favourite of Domitian, the date of the poet's exile must be placed in or before A.D. 83, for Paris was put to death in that year[1].

It is in truth impossible to make anything out on this point from the biographies and the *scholia.* The compilers of these notes may have got hold of the fact that Juvenal was banished, but have confused their tradition with the import of the lines (7 87 foll.) *Ille et militiae multis largitus honorem Semenstri vatum digitos circumligat auro: Quod non dant proceres* etc. This passage, however, really contains no reflection whatever on any actor: the indictment, if any, lies against the aristocracy. The mention of Paris and of an actor here may have led to these verses being connected with the story of the histrio who caused Juvenal's banishment. The words *satira non absurde composita in Paridem pantomimum poetamque semenstribus militidis emitatem* (1) to which (2) adds *poetamque Statium* are clearly a mere plagiarism from the text.

[1] Friedländer has pointed out that actors often took the names of celebrated predecessors, as shops in modern times sometimes continue to bear the old names. There was a Paris in the reign of Nero, as well as in that of Domitian, and three more afterwards.

But another circumstance may have contributed to form this tradition. An inscription found at Aquinum contains a dedication to Ceres made by a D. Iunius Iuvenalis, flamen of Vespasian, and holding some appointment (whether that of *tribunus* or *praefectus* cannot be ascertained, for the word is lost) in a *cohors Delmatarum.* Now, as in A.D. 103 the *cohors quarta Delmatarum* was in Britain, while an unnumbered *cohors Delmatarum* was there in 105, and the *prima cohors Delmatarum* in 124, scholars have been inclined to suppose that Juvenal was actually, as some of the memoirs say, at one time in Britain in a military capacity. It should however be added that the fifth *cohors Delmatarum* was in Germany in the year 116, and that as the number of the cohort to which the inscription attaches its D. Iunius Iuvenalis cannot be recovered, there is really no evidence on which we are justified in connecting Juvenal with Britain.

The inscription of Aquinum, then, throws no real light on the question of Juvenal's banishment. And it should be added that if Juvenal was sent to Britain in 103 or 124 *contra Scotos,* as the memoirs say, *sub honore militiae,* this must have taken place either under Trajan or under Hadrian. The first alternative is not impossible, though I do not know that there is any other evidence of the northern tribes of Britain having menaced the frontier during the reign of Trajan. But it is inconceivable that Hadrian should have committed to an aged literary man (for aged Juvenal must have been in 124) the command of a cohort on a dangerous frontier.

If useless with regard to the question of the banishment, the inscription may, perhaps, be turned to account in another way. The *Iuvenalis* whose name it bears was a *flamen* of Vespasian. So far as this fact goes, it affords a presumption that the inscription was put up in the reign of one of Vespasian's immediate successors, i.e. either of Titus or Domitian. If the *Iuvenalis* of the inscription is the poet, he must then, in the reigns of Titus or Domitian (79—96), have attained the age qualifying him for the post either of *tribunus* or *praefectus cohortis.*

Let us consider whether any light can be obtained by

interrogating the memoirs with the help of such internal evidence as is afforded by the satires themselves. Were we dealing in this way with Vergil, Horace, or Ovid, we should meet, in all probability, with no difficulty. But Juvenal's manner is at times so unreal that it is impossible for the reader to be sure whether the poet is referring to contemporary events or only professing to do so. In the first satire, for instance, he speaks of Tigellinus as a formidable person (*pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa*, &c.) and suggests therefore that he is writing in the reign of Nero. Yet it is clear that the piece cannot have assumed its present form until after 100 A.D. in which Marius was condemned for his misgovernment in Africa. (*Exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis Iratis.*)

There are however some undoubted marks of time in the satires which I will at once mention, taking the latest first and working backwards.

The latest is 15 27 (assuming the satire to be really Juvenal's) *nuper consule Iunco.* Iuncus was consul in the year 127.

There is some doubt about 13 16, *stupet haec, qui iam post terga reliquit Sexaginta annos, Fonteio consule natus*[1]. A Fonteius Capito (the *praenomen* is lost) was consul with C. Julius Rufus A.D. 67, and this would bring the thirteenth satire down to 127: but C. Fonteius Capito was consul in 59 with C. Vipstanus Apronianus. As Fonteius was the first consul in 67 and would therefore give his name to the year, recent commentators refer the verse of Juvenal to 67: but this is not a necessary interpretation. The reference may be to C. Fonteius Capito, consul 59: for though the *Fasti Consulares* make him second consul after Apronianus, Pliny (H. N. 7 84) and C. I. L. 6 2002 quote his name first. The alternative dates for this satire are then 127 and 119.

The 398th line of the sixth satire (*instantem regi Armenio Parthisque cometen*) is rightly referred by all commentators to the comet of 113 A.D. The earthquakes mentioned in the same

[1] Friedländer refers *stupet* to Juvenal, and therefore puts the poet's birth in 67 A.D. But surely *stupet* refers to Juvenal's friend.

passage may be those which took place in Galatia in 113, including perhaps that of Antioch (A.D. 116: Dio 68 25).

The eighth satire seems to have been written not very long after 100 A.D., for it speaks of the trial of Marius as recent (*cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros*, v. 120). And the same remark applies, as I have said, to the first satire.

The fourth satire purports at least to have been written not very long after Domitian's death, and the same may be said of the second. The lines (29—30) *qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter Concubitu, qui tum leges revocabat amaras*, &c. can hardly have been written in Domitian's life-time. While the expression (v. 160) *modo captas Orcadas et minima contentos nocte Britannos* shews that the memory of Agricola's British campaign was still fresh in the writer's memory.

We have thus obtained definite marks of time from about 96 to 127 A.D. It should be added that the first, third, fourth, eighth and tenth satires contain vivid reminiscences of Nero's reign[1], while Otho figures in the second. These reminiscences suggest that Juvenal was, during Nero's reign (54—68 A.D.), of an age to be keenly alive to what was going on in Rome.

Let us now proceed to consider another source of evidence.

There is no doubt that Juvenal and Martial were on terms of intimate friendship[2], and Martial died, at about the age of sixty, in 101 or 102 A.D. In the twenty-fourth poem of his seventh book Martial says *Cum Iuvenale meo quae me committere temptas, Quid non audebis, perfida lingua, loqui? Te fingente nefas Pyladen odisset Orestes, Thesea Pirithoi destituisset amor: Tu Siculos fratres et maius nomen Atridas, Et Ledae poteras dissociare genus.* In the same book we have an epigram (91) addressed to Juvenal himself, *De nostro facunde tibi Iuvenalis agello Saturnalicias mittimus, ecce, nuces.* The date of Martial's seventh book is 92 A.D.[3] At that time he

[1] e.g. 1 fin. Tigellinus: 3 116 Barea (66 A.D.): 3 251 Corbulo: 8 211—212 Seneca and Nero.

[2] One of the biographies (3) notices the fact: *Romam cum veniret et Martialem suum non videret.*

[3] Martial's epigrams are dated by Friedländer as follows: Books I and II, 85—86 A.D.: III, 87—88: IV, December 88: V, autumn 89: VI, 90 (summer or autumn): VII, VIII, 92, 93: IX, X (1st edition), 94—96 (December): X (2nd edition) 98: XII, 102.

knows Juvenal intimately and calls him *facundus.* This word has been taken as implying that Martial only knew of him as a teacher of rhetoric: but such a limitation is not necessary. *Facundus* is by writers of this period applied to eloquent writers as well as eloquent speakers or declaimers: Horace A. P. 41 *Cui lecta potenter erit res, Nec facundia deseret hunc nec lucidus ordo.* Statius Silv. 1 4 28—30 *seu plana solutis Cum struis orsa modis, seu cum tibi dulcis in artum Cogitur, et nostras curat facundia leges* (whether you write prose or poetry): Martial 5 30 3 *facundi scaena Catulli* (of Catullus as a writer of mimes): 14 185 *facundi Maronis:* a strong instance, as Vergil was notoriously a bad speaker. Quint. 8 1 3 *in Tito Livio, mirae facundiae viro, putat inesse Pollio Asinius quandam Patavinitatem.* There is nothing, then, to stand in the way of supposing that Martial knew of Juvenal as a writer in 92 A.D.

The only other allusion to Juvenal is in Martial's twelfth book (18), written in 101 or 102 A.D. *Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras Clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura,* &c.

The intimacy between Juvenal and Martial need not, of course, of itself exclude the supposition that Juvenal was much the younger man. But taking the evidence as a whole, I doubt whether it is necessary to suppose that there was a difference of more than ten years between the ages of the two poets. One very remarkable circumstance, which so far as I know has not been fully considered by the writers on this subject, seems to me to shew that Martial and Juvenal must have been intimate not only as men, but as writers: that they sympathized in their views of literature and saw a good deal of each other's literary work. The circumstance to which I allude is the remarkable correspondence between Martial's epigrams and the satires of Juvenal, a correspondence apparent not only in their view of literature, but in the subjects they treat, the persons they mention, their language and expression, and their general tone. This consideration is always of great importance when we have to deal with the history of Latin literature. The correspondence I allude to points to one of two conclusions: either that Juvenal, writing some twenty years after Martial's death,

took a pleasure in imitating his friend's poetry: or that like Calvus and Catullus, Vergil and Horace, Martial and Juvenal were much in each other's confidence, working and it may almost be said thinking together.

Before pronouncing in favour of one or the other conclusion, it may be well to quote the following passages:

(1) Their view of literature.

Martial 4 49 *Nescit, crede mihi, quid sint epigrammata, Flacce, Qui tantum lusus ista iocosque vocat. Ille magis ludit, qui scribit prandia saevi Tereos, aut cenam, crude Thyesta, tuam, Aut puero liquidas aptantem Daedalon alas, Pascentem Siculas aut Polyphemon oves. A nostris procul est omnis vensica libellis, Musa nec insano syrmate nostra tumet. 'Illa tamen laudant omnes, mirantur, adorant': Confiteor: laudant illa, sed ista legunt.*

Martial 8 3 17 *Scribant ista graves nimium nimiumque severi, Quos media miseros nocte lucerna videt. At tu Romano lepidus sale tinge libellos: Agnoscat mores vita legatque suos. Angusta cantare licet videaris avena, Dum tua multorum vincat avena tubas.*

Martial 10 4 *Qui legis Oedipodem caligantemque Thyesten, Colchidas et Scyllas, quid nisi monstra legis? Quid tibi raptus Hylas, quid Parthenopaeus et Attis, Quid tibi dormitor proderit Endymion? Exutusve puer pinnis labentibus, aut qui Odit amatrices Hermaphroditus aquas? Quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria cartae? Hoc lege, quod possit dicere vita, Meum est. Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque Invenies: hominem pagina nostra sapit.*

Juvenal 1 52 *Haec ego non agitem? sed quid magis? Heracleas Aut Diomedeas aut mugitum labyrinthi Et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem?* 85 *Quicquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas Gaudia discursus nostri est farrago libelli.*

(2) Subjects treated.

Philosophical debauchees.

Martial 1 24 *Aspicis incomptis illum, Deciane, capillis, Cuius et ipse times triste supercilium, Qui loquitur Curios, adsertoresque Camillos: Nolito fronti credere, nupsit heri.*

12 42 *Barbatus rigido nupsit Callistratus Afro* &c.

7 58 7 *Quaere aliquem Curios semper Fabiosque loquentem, Hirsutum et dura rusticitate trucem: Invenies: sed habet tristis quoque turba cinaedos: Difficile est vero nubere, Galla, viro.*

9 27 6 *Curios, Camillos, Quinctios, Numas, Ancos, Et quidquid umquam legimus pilosorum Loqueris sonasque grandibus minax verbis, Et cum theatris saeculoque rixaris. Occurrit aliquis inter ista si draucus* &c.

9 47 *Democritos, Zenonas, inexplicitosque Platonas Quidquid et hirsutis squalet imaginibus, Sic quasi Pythagorae loqueris successor et heres, Praependet sane nec tibi barba minor,* &c.

Juvenal 2 1 foll. *Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialem Oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent, Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt. Indocti primum; quamquam plena omnia gypso Chrysippi invenias, nam perfectissimus horum est, Si quis Aristotelen similem vel Pittacon emit, Et iubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas. Frontis nulla fides: quis enim non vicus abundat Tristibus obscenis? castigas turpia, cum sis Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos. Hispida membra quidem* &c.

2 129 *traditur ecce viro clarus genere atque opibus vir* &c.

Neglect of the liberal professions by their proper patrons.

Martial 1 107 *Saepe mihi dicis, Luci carissime Iuli, 'Scribe aliquid magnum: desidiosus homo es:' Otia da nobis, sed qualia fecerat olim Maecenas Flacco Vergilioque suo: Condere victuras temptem per saecula curas Et nomen flammis eripuisse meum. In steriles nolunt campos iuga ferre iuvenci: Pingue solum lassat, sed iuvat ipse labor.*

4 46 *Saturnalia divitem Sabellum Fecerunt: merito tumet Sabellus, Nec quenquam putat esse praedicatque Inter causidicos beatiorem. Hos fastus animosque dat Sabello Farris semodius fabaeque fresae, Et turis piperisque tres selibrae* &c.

3 38 *Quae te causa trahit vel quae fiducia Romam, Sexte? aut quid speras aut petis inde, refer. 'Causas' inquis 'agam Cicerone disertior ipso, Atque erit in triplici par mihi nemo foro.' Egit Atestinus causas et Civis; utrumque Noras, sed neutri pensio tota fuit. 'Si nihil hinc veniet, pangentur carmina nobis; Audieris, dices esse Maronis opus.' Insanis: omnes gelidis*

quicunque lacernis Sunt ibi, Nasones Vergiliosque vides. 'Atria magna colam.' Vix tres aut quattuor ista Res aluit, pallet cetera turba fame. 'Quid faciam, suade: nam certum est vivere Romae.' Si bonus es, casu vivere, Sexte, potes.

5 16 11 *Sed non et veteres contenti laude fuerunt, Cum minimum vati munus Alexis erat.*

8 56 5 *Sint Maecenates, non derunt, Flacce, Marones* &c.

8 82 5 *Fer vates, Auguste, tuos: nos gloria dulcis, Nos tua cura prior deliciaeque sumus.*

The whole of the seventh satire of Juvenal might be taken as an illustration of these lines; see especially the lines 1—12: 53—70: 105—123.

The vulgar and niggardly patron: perhaps the individual referred to by Pliny Ep. 2 6[1].

Martial 3 49 *Veientana mihi misces, ubi Massica potas: Olfacere haec malo pocula quam bibere*[2].

3 60 *Cum vocer ad cenam, non iam venalis ut ante, Cur mihi non eadem, quae tibi, cena datur? Ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino, Sugitur inciso mitulus ore mihi. Sunt tibi boleti, fungos ego sumo suillos: Res tibi cum rhombo est, at mihi cum sparulo* &c.

12 36 *Libras quattuor, aut duas amico Algentemque togam brevemque laenam* &c. *Pisones Senecasque Memmiosque Et Crispos mihi redde, sed priores* &c.

Juvenal 5 30—110 may again be taken as a companion picture to all these sketches.

The unsociable gourmand.

Martial 7 59 *Non cenat sine apro noster, Tite, Caecilianus. Bellum convivam Caecilianus habet.*

Juvenal 1 140 *quanta est gula, quae sibi totos Ponat apros, animal propter convivia natum!*

[1] *Longum est altius repetere, nec refert quem ad modum acciderit, ut homo minime familiaris cenarem apud quendam, ut sibi videbatur, lautum et diligentem, ut mihi, sordidum simul et sumptuosum. Nam sibi et paucis opima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat. Vina etiam parvis lagunculis in tria genera discripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne ius esset recusandi, aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet) aliud suis nostrisque libertis.* Pliny's second book of letters is dated between 97 and 100 A.D.

[2] See also Martial 1 20, 2 43, 4 85, 6 11.

The man who burns his own house for the sake of the contributions made for him after the disaster.

Martial 3 52 *Empta domus fuerat tibi, Tongiliane, ducentis: Abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens. Conlatum est deciens. Rogo, non potes ipse videri Incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum?*

Juvenal 3 220 *Meliora et plura reponit Persicus, orborum lautissimus, et merito iam Suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.*

Life at Rome.

Martial 4 5 *Vir bonus et pauper linguaque et pectore verus Quid tibi vis, urbem qui, Fabiane, petis? Qui nec leno potes nec comissator haberi, Nec pavidos tristi voce citare reos: Nec potes uxorem cari corrumpere amici, Nec potes algentes arrigere ad vetulas* &c.

Juvenal 1 38 *optima summi Nunc via processus, vetulae vensica beatae:* 55 *cum leno accipiat moechi bona.*

3 41—50 *Quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio, librum Si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere, motus Astrorum ignoro, funus promittere patris Nec volo nec possum, ranarum viscera nunquam Inspexi, ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter Quae mandat, norunt alii* &c.

Rome and the country.

Martial 12 57 *Cur saepe sicci parva rura Nomenti Laremque villae sordidum petam, quaeris* &c.

Compare Juvenal 3 239 foll.

Women and their habits.

Martial 6 6 *Comoedi sunt tres, sed amat tua Paula, Luperce, Quattuor: et κωφὸν Paula πρόσωπον amat.*

Juvenal 6 73 *Solvitur his magno comoedi fibula.*

Martial 6 7 *Iulia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est, Atque intrare domos iussa Pudicitia est, Aut minus aut certe non plus tricesima lux est, Et nubit decimo iam Telesilla viro. Quae nubit totiens, non nubit: adultera lege est: Offendor moecha simpliciore minus.*

Juvenal 6 224 *Imperat ergo viro, set mox haec regna relinquit, Permutatque domos et flammea conterit, inde Avolat et spreti repetit vestigia lecti. Ornatas paulo ante fores, pendentia*

linquit Vela domus et adhuc virides in limine ramos. Sic crescit numerus, sic fiunt octo mariti Quinque per autumnos, titulo res digna sepulchri.

Martial 7 67 4 (*Philaenis*) *Harpasto quoque subligata ludit Et flavescit haphe, gravesque draucis Halteras facili rotat lacerto* &c.

Juvenal 6 246 *Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma Quis nescit, vel quis non vidit vulnera pali?* &c. ib. 420 *magno gaudet sudare tumultu Cum lassata gravi ceciderunt bracchia massa* &c.

Martial 10 68 *Cum tibi non Ephesos, nec sit Rhodos aut Mytilene, Sed domus in vico, Laelia, patricio, Deque coloratis nunquam lita mater Etruscis, Durus Aricina de regione pater; Κύριέ μου, μέλι μου, ψυχή μου congeris usque, Pro pudor! Hersiliae civis et Egeriae. Lectulus has voces, nec lectulus audiat omnis* &c.

Juvenal 6 185 *Nam quid rancidius, quam quae se non putat ulla Formosam, nisi quae de Tusca Graecula facta est, De Sulmonensi mera Cecropis* &c.....*Quotiens lascivum intervenit illud Ζωὴ καὶ ψυχή* &c.

Martial 2 66 *Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum Anulus, in certa non bene fixus acu. Hoc facinus Lalage, speculo quo viderat, ulta est, Et cecidit saevis icta Plecusa comis. Desine iam, Lalage, tristes ornare capillos* &c.

Juvenal 6 490 *Disponit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis Nuda umero Psecas infelix nudisque mamillis. Altior hic quare cincinnus? taurea punit Continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli* &c.

(3) Persons[1].

Thymele and Latinus: Martial 1 5 5 *qui Thymelen spectas derisoremque Latinum:* 5 61 11 *quam dignus eras alapis, Mariane, Latini.* 9 29 (his epitaph). Juv. 1 36, 6 44.

Fronto: Mart. 1 56, 5 34: Juvenal 1 12 *Frontonis platani.* Mommsen thinks this is the consul of A.D. 96.

Chione: Mart. 1 35 7 al. Juv. 3 136.

[1] I should perhaps have said names, as many of the names in Martial and Juvenal are doubtless fictitious. But even where this is the case, the coincidence is no less striking, and tells, though in a different way, in favour of my argument.

Pontia: Mart. 2 34, 4 43: Juv. 6 638 (where see the *scholia*).

Tongilius: Mart. 2 40, Juv. 7 130.

Cordus the poet: Mart. 2 57, 3 15, 5 23, 5 26: Juv. 1 2, 3 208.

Pollio the singer: Mart. 3 20 18, 4 61, 12 12, Juv. 6 387, 7 176.

Paris the *pantomimus*, Mart. 11 13, Juv. 6 87.

Catullus the mime-writer: Mart. 5 30, Juv. 8 186, 13 111.

Hamillus the schoolmaster: Mart. 7 62, Juv. 10 224.

Glaphyrus the flute-player: Martial 4 5 8, Juvenal 6 77.

(4) Words and expressions.

Mart. 1 20 4 *boletum qualem Claudius edit edas.* Juv. 5 147 *boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit* &c.

Mart. 1 76 14 *steriles cathedras.* Juv. 7 203 *vanae sterilisque cathedrae.*

Mart. 1 92 9 *pasceris et nigrae solo nidore culinae.* Juv. 5 162 *captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae.*

Mart. 2 1 4 *hoc primum est, brevior quod mihi carta perit:* 10 4 7 *quid te vana iuvant miserae ludibria cartae?* Juv. 1 18 *perituraे parcere cartae.*

Mart. 2 43 9 *tu Libycos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes.* Juv. 11 122 *latos nisi sustinet orbes Grande ebur.*

Mart. 4 54 1 *cui Tarpeias liceat contingere quercus.* Juv. 6 387 *an Capitolinam deberet Pollio quercum Sperare.*

Mart. 5 44 11 *antiquae venies ad ossa cenae.* Juv. 8 90 *ossa vides rerum vacuis exsucta medullis.*

Mart. 6 50 5 *Vis fieri dives, Bithynice? conscius esto: Nil tibi vel minimum basia pura dabunt.* Juv. 3 49 *quis nunc diligitur nisi conscius* &c.

Mart. 6 60 10 *victurus genium debet habere liber.* Juv. 6 562 *nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit.*

Mart. 6 71 3 *tendere quae tremulum Pelian Hecubaeque maritum Posset ad Hectoreos sollicitata rogos.* Juv. 6 325 *quibus incendi iam frigidus aevo Laomedontiades et Nestoris hirnea possit.*

Mart. 8 21 3 *placidi numquid te pigra Bootae Plaustra vehunt?* Juv. 5 23 *pigri serraca Bootae.*

Mart. 9 35 *Scis quid in Arsacia Pacorus deliberet aula: Rhenanam numeras Sarmaticamque manum: Verba ducis Daci cartis mandata resignas, Victricem laurum quam venit ante vides: Scis quotiens Phario madeat Iove fusca Syene, Scis quota de Libyco litore puppis eat.* Juv. 6 402 *Haec eadem novit quid toto fiat in orbe, Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant.....Instantem regi Armenio Parthoque cometen Prima videt* &c.

Mart. 9 73 9 *frange leves calamos, et scinde, Thalia, libellos.* Juv. 7 27 *frange miser calamos, vigilataque proelia dele.*

Mart. 10 25 5 *nam cum dicatur tunica praesente molesta* &c. Juv. 8 235 *quod liceat tunica punire molesta.*

Mart. 13 64 1 *succumbit sterili frustra gallina marito.* Juv. 3 91 *quo mordetur gallina marito.*

Mart. 10 87 10 *Cadmi municipes ferat lucernas:* 14 114 *Hanc tibi Cumanae rubicundam pulvere testae Municipem misit casta Sibylla suam.* Juv. 14 271 *municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas.*

Two things should be observed with regard to these coincidences: first, that they are of a kind which points rather to independent handling of the same themes by two intimate friends than to imitation by the one of the other's work: secondly, that they for the most part occur in the first nine satires of Juvenal; the great majority, indeed, in the first seven. The most natural conclusion is that during the greater part of Domitian's reign Martial and Juvenal virtually worked together. This inference would agree with the tradition of the biographies that Juvenal was a professor of declamation *usque ad mediam aetatem.* For supposing his youth to have fallen in the reign of Nero and his death to have taken place (say) 127 or 128 A.D., his *media aetas* would begin about 85, not long before the publication of Martial's first two books.

It does not follow, of course, because Juvenal had written satire in Domitian's reign, and shewn it to Martial and perhaps to other friends[1], that he had published anything so early. In their present form, at any rate, it is probable if not certain that most of his satires are later than Domitian's death[2].

[1] As to Quintilian? who says (10 1 94) *sunt (satirici) clari hodieque, et qui olim nominabuntur.*

[2] Teuffel's solution is as follows

I have said that many of the earlier satires are, in my opinion, to be assigned to the later years of Domitian. It will no doubt be asked whether the seventh satire, *Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum*, does not belong to the age of Trajan or Hadrian? Undoubtedly this is the opinion of most modern commentators, including Mr Mayor. But it is evident that this hypothesis lands us in considerable difficulties. The setting of the piece is, in any case, taken from the time of Domitian, for Statius and Quintilian are spoken of as if alive, and the good fortune of Quintilian, indeed, as quite recent (*exempla novorum Fatorum transi*). But the commentators, for some reason which I cannot comprehend, seem to have an invincible repugnance to applying the line *Et spes et ratio* &c. to Domitian. In no case is the saying truer than in that of Domitian that the evil which men do lives after them. For the crimes of his later years I am not attempting to apologize. But it is only just to say that they were committed by a man whom suspicion and terror had driven to the verge of frenzy. Domitian was probably not a man of strong head, and it should never be forgotten that the historians of his reign belonged to the senatorial party. It is abundantly clear, however, even from their evidence, that his administration of the empire was that of a careful and conscientious ruler[1]. The provinces were

(*Studien und Charakteristiken* pp. 413—415). "Dass Iuvenal seine Satiren unter Domitian nicht verfasst hat, sondern erst unter Traian,...geht aus seiner ersteren Satire...positiv hervor."

"Ihr (i.e. der Satiren) Stoff die Zeit des Domitian ist."

"Perspektivische Zeichnen scheint seine" (Iuvenal's) "Sache nicht zu sein; die grössere künstlerische Ruhe, das Masshalten, die versöhnte Stimmung, den weiteren Gesichtskreis und die epische Glätte, welche sich daraus hätte ergeben sollen, dass es etwas Vergangenes, hinter ihm Liegendes, ist, was er schildert, hat er nicht eintreten lassen, sondern den gleichen Eifer aufgewendet wie wenn er noch mitten stünde in dieser grauenvollen Zeit, und jeden Augenblick dadurch zu leiden hätte. Ueberhaupt hat ihn jene Differenz zwischen der Zeit in welcher er schreibt, und der, welche er darstellt, nicht viel Kopfzerbrechen gekostet; er ignoriert sie einfach."

[1] Suetonius, Domitian, 2 *simulavit et ipse mire modestiam, imprimisque poeticae studium, tam insuetum antea sibi quam postea spretum et abiectum, recitavitque etiam publice....4. Instituit et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi triplex, musicum equestre gymnicum, et aliquanto plurium quam nunc est coronarum. Certabant enim et prosa oratione Graece Latineque, &c....Celebrabat et in Albano quot annis Quin-*

well governed in his reign, and justice well administered. Profligate and cruel in private life, he yet shewed in some of his legislation a real concern for humanity and public morals. Though himself an indifferent general, there is no evidence that he was not concerned to make good military appointments. That he had an honest intention to encourage literature, so far as to do so seemed compatible with the security of the Empire and the preservation of private morality, there can be no doubt. He took steps for the restoration of libraries and the copying of texts. The calumny of Suetonius, that he read nothing but the *commentarii* and *acta* of Tiberius, is refuted by the undoubted fact that he read Martial, and was indeed concerned to keep that brilliant writer within the bounds of decency. And if he read Martial he probably read Turnus and Statius. The *agon Capitolinus*[1], or five-yearly contest of artists and men of letters on the Capitol, and the similar trials of skill at the emperor's Alban villa, no doubt must have done something to encourage poetry and rhetoric, even if we believe Pliny (Paneg. 54) that they resulted largely in flattery of the emperor.

To state the matter quite fairly, we should probably say that to encourage literature was an honourable tradition of the early empire. Here, as in politics, the *princeps* took upon himself the functions of the old aristocracy. There was no

quatria Minervae, cui collegium instituerat, ex quo sorte ducti magisterio fungerentur ederentque eximias venationes et scaenicos ludos, superque oratorum ac poetarum certamina.

8. *Ius diligenter et industrie dixit, plerumque et in foro pro tribunali extra ordinem: ambitiosas centum virorum sententias rescidit: recuperatores, ne se perfusoriis adsertionibus accommodarent, identidem admonuit: nummarios iudices cum suo quemque consilio notavit. Auctor et TR. PL. fuit aedilem sordidum repetundarum accusandi iudicesque in eum a senatu petendi. Magistratibus quoque urbicis provinciarumque praesidibus coercendis tantum curae adhibuit, ut neque modestiores unquam neque iustiores extiterint: e quibus plerosque post illum reos omnium criminum vidimus. Suscepta correctione morum licentiam theatralem promiscue in equite spectandi inhibuit: scripta famosa vulgoque edita, quibus primores viri ac feminae notabantur, abolevit, &c.*

[1] Statius Silvae 3 5 28: *tu me nitidis Albana prementem Dona comis, sanctoque indutum Caesaris auro &c.* 4 2 66 *Cum modo Germanas acies, modo Daca sonantem Proelia, Palladio tua me manus induit auro.* 4 5 22 *hic mea carmina Regina bellorum virago Caesareo decoravit auro:* 5 3 228 *si per me serta tulisses Caesarea donata manu.*

deliberate intention on the part of the emperors to crush the freedom of speech as such: a poet or orator was safe so long as he remained on neutral ground. None the less, of course, is it true that the springs of all nobler writing were gradually choked up, as the aristocracy declined from its ancient power, position, and independence. For the production of great works expansion of soul is necessary, nor could minds of high powers and sincere emotion be content with the hackneyed themes of mythology or the trivialities of social intercourse. But, after all, the main burden of Juvenal's seventh satire is not so much the encouragement of literature by the court as its neglect by the nobility, its natural patrons; and this is a point upon which Martial, writing mostly under Domitian, insists with almost wearisome iteration. *Sint Maecenates, non derunt, Flacce, Marones*, and so on. If the satire under discussion is to be allowed to have any life and meaning it must surely be assigned to the reign of Domitian.

It remains to be asked whether there is any evidence that Juvenal was banished from Rome, and if so, when he was banished?

The fact is asserted by all the memoirs, though they differ as to the place of exile. I will now mention the only other evidence which seems to me to bear upon the point, and of this I must confess that little can be made. Juvenal was probably in Rome in the year 92 and 93, when Martial completed his seventh book, in which, as we have seen, he addresses Juvenal twice. It is, however, noteworthy that Martial does not again address Juvenal till the year 101, five years after Domitian's death. Can the reason of this be the absence of the exile from Rome? If so, it may well be that Juvenal was one of the large number of persons whom the last years of Domitian drove from the city and from Italy.

Let us now, leaving the question of chronology, endeavour to form an idea of the social surroundings into which Juvenal was born, and to examine whether his satires are a faithful reflection of them.

It is not too much to say that modern city life on a large scale, the highest development of European civilization in its

best and its worst forms, has its first example in the Rome of the first century A.D. In the history of moral progress, eighteen hundred years would sometimes appear to be a mere cipher.

I am not, be it well understood, wishing to understate the differences between ancient and modern life as a whole; but even taking all these into account, it remains true that Rome was the first great capital city in Europe, exhibiting in its society all the features of the struggle for wealth, that is, for power and position, which is the main characteristic of modern life when left at repose from war or revolution. The central fact which should be grasped in looking at the Roman society of the early Empire, as contrasted with that of the last two centuries of the Republic, is the comparative instability of its distinctions. The disorder, the want of public security of the last period of the Commonwealth, had endangered commerce, and thus helped to maintain the landed aristocracy in an assured position. With the Empire came peace, and their chances to all and sundry. *Nunc patimur longae pacis mala*, says Juvenal regretfully in his sixth satire (286). While the aristocracy was wasting its strength in futile struggles with the court, and many noble families were becoming impoverished, the honest merchant and the unscrupulous adventurer, Roman, Greek or Oriental, were pushing to the front and using their new social and political opportunities. The situation was much aggravated by the existence of slavery. A peculiar character was given at this time, and at Rome, to this curse of the ancient world. Quantities of slaves of all known nations and all characters were brought, from one reason or another, to Rome. Their disproportionate number tended, in one respect, to alleviate their condition and prospects. Emancipation was easy and common. It let loose upon society a number of persons who had lived and meant to live by their wits, often not inconsiderable, men who had done and suffered everything, with the vices of slavery and without the virtues of freedom, supple, serviceable, wicked. "A serving-man, proud in heart "and in mind, that curled my hair, wore gloves in my cap, "served the lust of my mistress's heart and did the act of

"darkness with her: swore as many oaths as I spake words,
"and broke them in the sweet face of heaven: one that slept in
"the contriving of lust and waked to do it. Wine loved I
"deeply, dice dearly, and in woman out-paramoured the Turk.
"False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand; hog in sloth, fox
"in stealth, wolf in greediness, dog in madness, lion in prey."

In Shakespeare's portrait we seem to recognize the coarser forms of the Calvisius Sabinus (Sen. Ep. 27 5 foll.) the Hostius Quadra (Sen. N. Q. I. 16) the Zoilus and the Trimalchio of Seneca, Martial, and Petronius; men for whom the court, in case of need, had its favours, ladies their commissions, men of letters their filthiest verses. The traditions of Italian manliness and dignity were violated at every turn by the influx of foreign vice and the shamelessness of foreign adventure. The mere presence of the Orientals irritated and alarmed Roman feeling. The hunt for wealth, the rush from step to step of the social ladder, was fierce and undisguised[1]. There was no end to the accumulation of large fortunes and the formation of immense landed estates. The desire of pleasure gratified itself by every refinement of luxury; the multitude of slaves gave facilities for the gratification of every form of lust. *Impudicitia in ingenuo probrum est, in servo necessitas, in liberto officium,* is an opinion quoted by the elder Seneca. A loosening of the older social conventionalities began even in the circles of the Roman nobility, who sometimes for their own gratification, sometimes to please the court, would forget the proprieties of a former day and turn actors, gladiators, charioteers. Women enjoyed their share of the general freedom, and while the more serious among them plunged into literature or law, or became devotees of some foreign religion, others patronized actors and gladiators, or pursued other and more questionable forms of an emancipated life. Meanwhile the life of the capital exercised its irresistible attraction upon the provinces. Men streamed to Rome, with hopes, more or less slender, of making a livelihood by honest means. They might succeed,

[1] Schol. Iuv. 5 3 *Sarmentus...incertum libertus an servus, plurimis forma et urbanitate promeritis co fiduciae venit ut pro equite Romano ageret, et decuriam quoque quaestoriam compararet.* See especially Pliny 33 §§ 32—34.

and make a name in literature or politics; they might fail, and become the restless and degraded dependents of one or more of the great houses.

This is the dark side of the picture; what is there to set against it? This century, if characterized by the beginning of remarkable social changes, saw also the beginning of a religious and moral evolution no less remarkable. In the upper and better educated class philosophy and the higher culture were producing considerable moral results. Philosophy and religion are in this unfortunate, that while their practical manifestations in ordinary life are often unrecognized even by honest observers, any clever cynic can detect their counterfeit. Philosophy also, as Bernays has well pointed out, lay in the ancient world under a peculiar disadvantage. It was for the most part revolutionary and opposed to the existing forms of social life. *Postremo nemo aegrotus quicquam somniat Tam infandum, quod non aliquis dicat philosophus,* is the verdict of healthy Roman common sense as expressed in Varro's *Saturae* (*Eumenides* fr. 6). No doubt, as the social evolution implied in the change from Greek to Roman life worked itself gradually on, the antagonism became less pronounced. The organization of the Roman empire was, to a certain extent, a realization of the Stoical ideal; at any rate, it had broken down the conception of isolated city life, and substituted for it the conception of a larger society. An active performance of the duties of a citizen was not inconsistent—far from it—with the profession of a Stoic or Academician. None the less had the philosophic profession, as a whole, a strong tendency, at the period which we are considering, to isolate its followers if not from the duties, at least from the interests of ordinary life, and devote them to the contemplation of an ideal morality. Stoicism, the most influential theory in the first century, had a pronounced influence in this direction. That philosophers of any independence of character were looked upon with suspicion both by the government and by society lay in the nature of things[1]. *Errare mihi videntur,* says Seneca (Epist. 73 1), *qui existimant philosophiae fideliter deditos contumaces*

[1] Seneca Epist. 5 2 *Satis ipsum nomen philosophiae, etiamsi modeste tractatur, invidiosum est... Intus omnia dissimilia sint: frons populo conveniat.*

esse et refractarios, contemptores magistratuum et regum eorumve per quos publica administrantur. The prejudice extended to men who professed to represent a sound and common-sense view of educated life and conduct, men like Quintilian, Martial, and Juvenal. These could only see that there were not a few hypocrites among the professors of philosophy (Quint. 12 3 2, Sen. Ep. 29 2, Juv. 2 and Mart. ll. cc.).

If philosophy was doing much to hold a lofty ideal of life before the eyes of those among the cultivated classes whose intellect and moral sense were capable of accepting its teaching, Judaism found its way from the Jewish quarters into the great houses, and was popular, nay, even fashionable, among rich and high-born ladies. But of the great revolution which was silently preparing itself among the lower orders, binding together the poor and oppressed into a new society, with principles of conduct, a mode and object of worship, and hopes for the future unknown or imperfectly known before, the upper classes, in Rome at any rate, knew nothing. Christianity was to them no more than a form of Judaism.

In the presence of social phenomena so absorbingly interesting, what is Juvenal's attitude? Are his pictures of contemporary life to be trusted? Does he, in his character of moralist, represent the highest effort of contemporary thought?

In a sense in which Juvenal did not intend the words, *difficile erat saturam non scribere.* The *satura* was not properly an attack on vice and folly, though Juvenal did his best to encourage the idea that it was, but a sketch of life and character. The Romans had a natural aptitude for this kind of writing, not because they were more spiteful than the Greeks, but because they had a larger sphere of experience, and a greater knowledge of the *ars vivendi.* At the time which we are now considering, the artist had abundance of materials, nor is it surprising that during these years two eminent poets, Martial and Juvenal, refused to have anything to say to the old mythologies, and turned to real life for their models. Turnus, a third excellent writer of the time and a satirist like Juvenal, has been so unfortunate as to leave to posterity nothing but his name, which is coupled with that of Juvenal by Rutilus Nama-

tianus (1 603). Martial (11 10) says of him *Contulit ad saturas ingentia pectora Turnus:* and again (7 97 7) *Turni nobilibus libellis.*

Juvenal was the native of a country town, Aquinum, and had been brought up in the house of a rich *libertinus*, whether as his son or fosterchild is unknown. In position he exactly resembled his contemporary Turnus, who, if we may believe a notice preserved in Valla's *scholia* to Juv. 1 20, attained great influence in the courts of Titus and Vespasian. He seems to have been in Rome from his childhood upwards (3 84 *et nostra infantia* &c.). Thus, though an Italian by birth, he was a Roman by education, and as a consequence became a Roman in sympathies and antipathies. Several passages shew that for some time at least he was a *cliens*, in the later sense of the word, that is, a poor dependent on great houses: 1 99 *iubet a praecone vocari Ipsos Troiugenas, nam vexant limen et ipsi Nobiscum:* 3 187 *praestare tributa clientes Cogimur, et nitidis augere peculia servis:* and so Mart. 12 18 *Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras* &c.

The statement of the memoirs, that Juvenal practised declamation till middle age, is abundantly confirmed by the tone of his compositions. The touch of the *declamator* is everywhere. There is no need, with Ribbeck (*Der echte und unechte Iuvenal*) to separate the declamatory satires, such as the tenth, from the rest[1]. Some pieces evidently contain several rhetorical *loci* or passages of description well tricked out and loosely strung together. Such are, for instance, the picture of Otho 2 99—109: of Eppia, 6 82 foll.: of Messalina, 6 114 foll.: of Lateranus, 8 146: the verses on Cicero, Marius and the Decii 8 231—268: on Seianus, 10 56 foll., and others in the same satire. The composition again is sometimes that of a rhetorician, loose, inharmonious, inconsistent. The first satire is a series of incoherent complaints: *unde illae lacrimae?* A married impotent, an athletic lady, a barber rich enough to challenge the fortunes of all the patricians: the Egyptian Crispinus with his ring, the lawyer Matho in his litter: the infamous will-hunter, the robber of his ward, the plunderer of

[1] Teuffel's answer to Ribbeck (*Studien und Charakteristiken* p. 414 foll.) is well worth reading.

the provinces: the pander husband, the low-born spendthrift, the forger, the poisoner; all these are hurried together in no intelligible order, and with the same introductory *cum hoc fiat,* and the same conclusion in several variations *non scribam saturam?* Then at v. 81 the satire seems to open again and promise a description of various vices, but instead of this we have an elaborate complaint, extending over many lines, of the poverty of the nobility, with a description of the hardships of a client. The ill-proportioned piece concludes with a promise to write against the dead, and the dead are to be (if we are to suppose any coherence at all in the peroration) those who lived before the days of Nero. Yet the satire in another passage (*exul ab octava* &c.) purports to have been written after 100 A.D.

Juvenal's most elaborate effort is the sixth satire. A very brief analysis of the first part of this celebrated piece will discover the badness of its composition 1—59: Do not think of marriage, few women being both chaste and fair: 60—113 do not look for a wife in the theatre: all ladies prefer actors and gladiators: 114—135 Messalina's habits are described: 135—160 no men love their wives, but only their wives' fortune or beauty: 161—183 a perfect wife would be intolerable: 184—199 it is very bad in a lady to talk Greek: 200—224 a wife is always a tyrant: 225—230 she will marry as often as she likes: 231—241 the daughter-in-law is corrupted by the mother-in-law: 242—245 there is a woman in every lawsuit: 246—267 ladies are often very fond of gymnastics: and so on, and so on.

In fact, with all its brilliancy of execution in detail, the piece, as far as composition is concerned, is a mere chamber of horrors. The main theme, that it is madness to marry because a good wife cannot be found, is not so much worked out as illustrated by a series of pictures quite unconnected, and arguments sometimes inconsistent. The gist of the argument seems to be that women are either very bad or very good, or too learned, or too athletic; but in truth there is no argument properly so called, but a string of sketches, which give the impression of having been drawn not from a wide observation

of life, but from particular and notorious cases. An instance of Juvenal's desire to produce effect at the expense of consistency is to be found in his treatment of the passion of women for athletics and for law, in the second and in the sixth satires. In the second satire, where his object is to exalt women at the expense of men, Favonia is made to say *luctantur paucae, comedunt colyphia paucae: Numquid nos agimus causas, civilia iura Novimus?* &c. But in the sixth satire (242 foll., 246 foll., 352 foll.) a directly opposite impression is conveyed.

Rhetoric, as Matthew Arnold well says, is always inconsistent, and this is the inconsistency of the rhetorician. A corresponding unreality tinges many of Juvenal's utterances as a moralist. We have seen that in the first satire he expends much the same amount of indignation on the *nouveau riche* of a barber as on the most abandoned criminals, and that the grievances of the poor client, perhaps his own grievances, occupy a place out of all proportion to their moral importance. Still more strikingly conspicuous is this perversity of judgment in the second and eighth satires[1]. In the eighth, after some hundred and fifty verses of excellent quality in all respects, Juvenal strikes off into an indignant tirade against the nobleman who is too fond of horses, the nobleman who acts on the stage, and the crimes of Nero: which are, it would seem, his murders of his mother and his relations; and, as a climax, his love of music and the drama. Are we reading De Quincey's *Art of Murder*? or is further evidence needed that Juvenal is only half a moralist, that irritation against social improprieties is almost as strong an element of his invective as genuine anger against vice? That with such a point of view he should have no theory of life but that of the most superficial common sense, that he should see little in philosophy but a solemn imposture, is only natural (14 120)[2]. Nemesis overtakes him, however: he has nothing to say against slavery nor against the games of the amphitheatre, though Seneca (see Epist. 7 and 47) completely condemns them.

[1] In the second (v. 143), after mentioning a case of unnatural vice, he goes on *Vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fuscina Gracchi, Lustravitque fugam* &c.

[2] It is interesting to compare this satire with Seneca's forty-fourth epistle.

Nor can this capriciousness be defended on the ground that Juvenal is not a moralist but a humorist. If he falls short of the simple philosophical elevation of Persius, he is equally incapable of the light and plastic touch of Petronius. From Juvenal we hear what people on particular occasions have done; but we know nothing of their personality; he cannot draw a character, he cannot laugh. Think of Juvenal's Virro and then of Petronius's Trimalchio; the one is a figure cut out in paper, the other a living man. The inconsistencies of the sixth satire might be defended in a humorist; he would be in his right in saying that a licentious wife or an over-virtuous wife are equally objectionable. But this ground is not open to the moralist, who is bound to defend virtue against all cavil.

In fact, Juvenal is at his best not when he is lashing vice, but when he is in the vein of grave and simple moral expostulation. The tenth satire is perhaps too declamatory to be taken as a specimen of his best work: the thirteenth and fourteenth are better, defaced by none of the faults which I have mentioned, and carrying the reader along from point to point with sweetness and dignity.

The style of Juvenal, the influence of which is so familiar in modern literature, is, so far as we know, new in satire. While Persius imitates Horace, and makes at least a clumsy attempt to preserve the form of a dialogue, Juvenal, in most of his pieces, throws this entirely aside, and casts his ideas into the mould of the Vergilian epic. *Fingimus hoc altum satira sumente coturnum Scilicet, et finem egressi linguamque priorum Grande Sophocleo carmen bacchamur hiatu Montibus ignotum Rutulis caeloque Latino* (6 634). Taking these words out of their context, we might accept them as a description of Juvenal's manner, which, like all we know of the man, is elevated, serious, and unbending. He is a perfect master of his metre, a perfect master of expression within the limits of his ideas. But his ideas, and the way in which he marshals them, are those of the poetical declaimer, not of the poet. *Facit indignatio versum*: verses, yes; but not poetry. It would be difficult to quote from Juvenal one really poetical line. But he is a great metrist, a master of points, a rhetorician inspired by the love of his calling. His

arrangement is often bad: it is his glittering language which arrests attention. It is this, far more than the coherence or truthfulness of his workmanship, which has won and will maintain his position in literature. There is a genuine and passionate rhetoric which seems almost to reach the strain of poetry; this is the gift of Juvenal, which we should do ill to underrate. But we should do equally ill to mistake it for anything higher than it really is, or to put too much confidence in a writer honest indeed, but soured by poverty and disappointed ambition, who, with whatever brilliancy of detail, does not pass beyond the bounds of a somewhat narrow experience, mingles righteous anger with much personal irritation, and gives, after all, an exaggerated picture of a peculiar phase of ancient life.

H. NETTLESHIP.

NOTES IN LATIN LEXICOGRAPHY.

[Words marked * are not to be found in the dictionaries of Georges (7th edition) or Lewis and Short.]

Ablaqueo. The right form of the word is probably *ablacuo,* preserved in the text of Varro R. R. 1 29 1.

**Acherontinus Hercules,* C. I. L. 9 947.

Adfectio, absolutely, in the sense of affection; add C. I. L. 9 1592 (of the age of Commodus) *patri rarae adfectionis:* Ib. 1612 (both at Beneventum).

Ambitiosus in aliquid: add to the instances in Georges Seneca Tranq. 1 14 *ambitiosus in verba.*

Assulatim. The reading *assultatim* given by *B* in Plautus Captivi 832 may possibly point to a form *astulatim,* from *astula.*

**Aularius,* = *aulicus,* Gloss. ap. Mai Cl. Auct. Vol. 6.

Avidus futuri, Horace A. P. 172. This difficult phrase should apparently mean anxious about the morrow, if we may argue from the parallel passage in Seneca Epist. 32 4: *O quando illud videbis tempus quo scies tempus ad te non pertinere? quo tranquillus placidusque eris et crastini neglegens et in summa tui satietate. Vis scire quid sit quod faciat homines avidos futuri? Nemo sibi contigit.*

Caballus as distinguished from *equus.* Add *Lex Metalli Vipascensis* (Ephemeris Epigraphica 3 to p. 167) *asinos asinas caballos equos.*

Caperro. On p. 344 of my *Lectures and Essays* I have argued that this, and not *capero,* is the right form of the word.

I have since found that the word is so written in Varro L. L. 7 107 according to the authoritative MS., and also in the two best MSS. of Martianus Capella 5 509.

Civitas in the sense of social feeling. This important usage, which, as far as I know, is unnoticed in the current lexicons, is attested by the following passages: Cicero pro Murena § 74 *horribilis oratio, sed eam...civitas ipsa respuit:* Ib. § 77 *haec omnia ad rationem civitatis si derigas, recta sunt.* This may also be the meaning of the word in Pliny Epist. 1 14 9, *cum publicos mores atque etiam leges civitatis intueor, quae vel in primis census hominum spectandos arbitrantur.*

Depositio in the sense of death. Add to the instance in Georges C. I. L. 9 1370, 1372, 1376, 1383, 1386, 1397 (Aeclanum).

Dignatio = esteem, regard. Add C. I. L. 9 729, 1681: *dignationem sensi; per dignationem suam.*

Immunis probably = disobliging, the opposite of *munis:* Plautus Trinummus 1 *Amicum castigare ob meritam noxiam Inmoene est facinus:* Cicero Laelius § 50 *non est amicitia... immunis neque superba.*

**Innullare,* to set at nought: Bobbian translation of St Mark 9 12, *ut multa patiatur et innulletur.* (P. 5 of Wordsworth and Sanday's Old Latin Biblical Texts, no. II.)

Inoffensibilis cursus, smooth, without stumbling, Cledonius p. 9 Keil.

Instructus -ūs, equipment: add Servius Aen. 5 402 *quibus (caestibus), quorum instructu.*

Ius commune in a popular sense = common morality: Sidonius Epist. 2 10 *nimium qui supergressi ius fasque commune summam beatitudinem existimant summam potestatem. Ius gentium* = law universally recognized. Ib. 1 7 *cum Burgundionibus iure gentium Gallias diuidi debere confirmans.*

**Lausia,* apparently = a stone tablet: *Lex Metalli Vipasc.* 54. Hübner explains the word by comparing it with the Spanish *losa,* Portuguese *lousa* or *louzia,* = *tabula lapidea.*

Licet aliquid alicui de aliquo. This construction is found Aen. 6 502, *cui tantum de te licuit,* which Conington says has not been illustrated. I have found an instance in Seneca De

Const. Sapientis 10 3, *sapiens a nullo contemnitur...nullique tantum de se licere renuntiat sibi.*

Lumino. Add C. I. L. 3 45 (Thebes in Egypt, A.D. 134) *prolata Oceano luminat alma dies.*

Notare = to convict, with genitive of the offence: add Pompeius p. 201 Keil, *notavit* (*grammaticos*) *imperitiae.*

**Olli* = *tum* (locative of *ollus*). The existence of this word is implied by Servius twice, in his notes on Aen. 1 254 and 5 10: compare perhaps Probus Appendix p. 199 Keil, *olim, non oli.*

**Paracentia Minerva* = *Berecyntia,* C. I. L. 9 1539, 1540, al. saep.

Pectenarius (sic), C. I. L. 9 1711 (Beneventum).

Publica opinio, the general opinion, Servius Aen. 5 527, 6 136.

**Recisamen,* a chip, Lex Metalli Vipasc. 29, *ex recisaminibus ramorum.*

Recuro, to repair: add Lex Metalli Vipasc. 43, *vestimenta rudia vel recurata.*

Remeabilis, returning: add Servius Aen. 5 251, *flexuosa et in se remeabilis purpura.*

Rutramen, rubbish, earth &c. (what is dug up by a *rutrum*): Lex Metalli Vipasc. 47, *pulvis ex scauriis et rutramina.*

**Scaurarius,* one who has to do with the slack or *scoriae* of a mine: Lex Metalli Vipasc., *scripturae scaurariorum et testariorum.* The spelling *scauria,* which occurs in the same *lex* (47), is unknown to the lexicons.

Splendor, splendidus, in the sense of spotlessness, spotless. Cicero Rep. 2 § 69, *ut sese splendore animi et vitae suae sicut speculum praebeat civibus;* Cluent. § 46 (*Aletrinatium*) *municipum, in quibus quantus splendor sit, quam prope aequabilis, quam fere omnium constans et moderata ratio vitae...nemo... ignorat.* Planc. § 30, *hunc tu vitae splendorem maculis aspergis istis?* Horace 4 Od. 7 21, *et de te splendida Minos Fecerit arbitria:* where the Cruquian scholia say *cum de te absque ullo fuco aut obscuro odii invidiaeve livore splendide et lucide iudicaverit.* Livy 3 35 9, *nequaquam splendore vitae pares decemviros creat.*

Tignuarius: add to the instance of this form given by Georges C. I. L. 9 2213 (Telesia) 2339 (Allifae). De Vit gives others.

**Ubertumbus.* Apparently the epithet of a place outside the limits of a particular mine, whence the same ore can be procured. Lex Metalli Vipasc., *ex aliis locis ubertumbis.*

Usurpo, to use a word in a wrong sense, Servius Aen. 5 145; *'carcere' usurpavit:* to make an incorrect statement, Ib. Aen. 7 706, *usurpat hoc.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

THE TITLE OF THE SECOND BOOK OF NONIUS.

THIS is given by MSS. and editions as *De honestis et nove veterum dictis. Honestum dictum* in the writings of a grammarian or lexicographer means a good word, as opposed to a bad or vulgar expression: Servius Aen. 8 107 on *inter opacum nemus: ('Inter') est honesta elocutio, ut si dicas 'inter cenam locutus sum', id est 'per cenam'.* But there is a difficulty in *et nove.* In the first place, an ancient author would not naturally be spoken of by a late grammarian as speaking *nove:* in the second place, it is difficult to see how *De honestis et nove veterum dictis* can be Latin. One would have expected *novis.* I would therefore raise the question whether the true title of the book is not

ECLOGE

De honestis veterum dictis.

Ecloge might easily have been corrupted into *et nove,* and then have crept into the text.

H. NETTLESHIP.

ON THE HEBREW ROOT קצע AND THE WORD מקצוע.

THE word מִקְצוֹעַ is taken by lexicographers and commentators to mean an inside corner or reentrant angle. But when one tries to realise the description of the eastern wall of Jerusalem in Neh. iii., a passage in which the word repeatedly occurs, doubts arise as to the adequacy of the received interpretation. In attempting a more precise determination of the sense of the word one is led to look at several points of some interest, partly etymological, partly exegetical and topographical.

The Hebrew Bible exhibits only one certain verbal form of the root קצע, viz. the Hiphil יַקְצֵעַ in Lev. xiv. 41, which plainly means to "scrape" a wall[1]. The sense of the root thus indicated is confirmed by the nominal form מַקְצֻעוֹת in Isa. xliv. 13, for though most of the representatives of exegetical tradition fail us in this passage[2], the Targum has אזמיליא (אוזמילא) = Syr. ܐܙܡܝܠܐ or ܐܙܡܠܐ (P. S. 1134), ܐܙܡܠܐ (Bar Ali ed. Hoffmann 3517), Ar. أزميل, that is, *σμίλη*, *scalprum*, a scraping or graving tool. And this rendering must be correct, for the context demands the name of the instrument used by a woodcarver to give human form to a block after the pattern has been marked upon it by lines and punctures. In this sense קצע answers to Arabic قصع in قَصَاعَة "fine dust" (*Qāmūs*),

[1] מָקְצָעוֹת, Exod. xxvi. 23, is only another pronunciation of מִקְצֻעוֹת (Ew. § 215 a), and מָהֻקְצָעוֹת, Ezek. xlvi. 22, is deleted by *puncta extraordinaria* and so omitted by the versions.

[2] LXX and Pesh. are puzzled and shorten the verse to avoid the difficulty. Aquila and Jerome have *ἐν περιγωνίοις* (or *περιγωνίσκοις*), *in angularibus*—a mere guess from מִקְצוֹעַ = *γωνία*.

and thus it seems very possible that קְצִיעוֹת, *κασία*, means simply "powdered" fragrant bark, and is not to be compared with the Arabic synonym سليخة "decorticated."

In Lev. *l. c.* the Hiphil of קצע is followed in the same sense by the Hiphil of קצה (הקצו ver. 41, הַקְצוֹת ver. 43). Neither Hebrew usage nor the analogy of the cognate tongues affords any support for ascribing the sense "scrape" to קצה, and a change of verb in the same context seems highly improbable. On the other hand there are familiar instances of a corruption of text arising from the dropping of an ע in pronunciation, such as נשקה for נשקעה (Amos viii. 8 *Kethîb*), לָמוֹ for לְעַמּוֹ (Ps. xxviii. 8), יָשֵׁן אֹפֵהֶם for יְעַשְּׁנוּ אַפֵּהֶם (Hos. vii. 6, cf. Deut. xxix. 19); and the ת of הַקְצוֹת, which makes the chief difficulty in applying this solution to the case before us, may have come from the את following. That the text is not sound but corrupted from הקציע אותו might indeed be strongly suspected from the punctuation of the first syllable with *ĕ* instead of *ă*. The possibility of such a change in infinitives Piel and Hiphil is affirmed by grammarians, and less cautious writers like Böttcher offer long lists of cases in which the thing occurs. But by far the greater number of cases cited by Böttcher (*Lehrbuch*, p. 226) are manifestly perfects standing in dependence on a construct case (cf. Philippi, *Status Constructus im Hebräischen*, p. 79 sqq.), or at least could be regarded as such by the tradition followed by the punctuators. A shorter and much better chosen list is given by Ewald § 238 d, who judiciously remarks that in all cases this infinitive is found after a noun or a longish (i.e. nominal) preposition, and so in a position which would readily admit of a finite verb. But even Ewald's list may be at once purged of seven out of the fourteen passages cited (Lev. xiv. 46; Num. xxi. 35, where השאיר may be taken as intransitive and שׂריד as its subject—note also that LXX read וַיִּךְ for וַיַּכּוּ, on which reading השאיר is a perfect even if it is taken transitively; Deut. xxviii. 55; 1 Kings xv. 29, where the suffix is objective; 2 Kings x. 11, 17, cf. Jer. xxiii. 14 and Philippi *ut*

supra; Jer. li. 33). Again חֲזִיקִי in Jer. xxxi. 32 is not to the point, for seghol represents ă as well as ĭ, and the Assyrian punctuation in Cod. Petrop. actually has ă[1]. This leaves only six cases, including our passage. Of these 1 Chron. viii. 8 is thoroughly unintelligible and lacking in the Syriac—moreover certain copies of LXX point to a reading שִׁלְּחוּ; and in Jer. l. 34 the second of the two forms חֲרִגִּיעַ and וְהִרְגִּיז was certainly taken as a perfect by the oldest interpreters (LXX, Aquila). Again in Deut. vii. 24 (23) the true reading of the LXX is ἐξολοθρεύσῃ, answering to a reading עַד־הַשְׁמֵד אוֹתָם (see Field's *Hexapla in l.*), and similarly in Josh. xi. 14 ἕως ἀπώλεσεν αὐτούς answers to עד השמיד or עד השמידם, in either of which the perfect is correct. Here the Massoretic text simply arises from a fusion of these two texts without application of the correction necessary to make the conflate text grammatical, and in like manner in Deut. vii. 24 the vowel of the perfect in השמדך is nothing more than a reminiscence of a reading in which there was no suffix. The same explanation may be safely extended to the one passage not yet mentioned, Deut. xxviii. 48, though here we cannot tell whether the LXX had הַשְׁמִיד or הַשְׁמִידוֹ. And finally in the passage with which we started no one would take הִלִּין for anything but a perfect unless it were followed by הַקְצוֹת. The result of this enquiry, then, is that there is no sure example of ĭ for ă in the penult of infinitives of intensive and extensive stems in Hebrew, and those who are familiar with the state of the Hebrew text as a whole will find it far easier to believe that five or six isolated cases of ĭ for ă have arisen by conflation of readings or other mistakes than that they rest on an original and true tradition. There is no doubt that the Massoretic punctuation represents with scrupulous fidelity a fixed and elaborate tradition of pronunciation which is much older than the vowel signs themselves, and which in some cases, as appears in the examples that have just been cited, even embodies elements older than

[1] In 2 Sam. iii. 13 the text is corrupt. LXX read כי אם הבאת.

the present consonantal text. But the simple fact that the Massorets undertook to give a pronunciation for every word in the text, and by implication professed to understand every passage of the Old Testament, including many that are totally corrupt, shews that the tradition on which they went cannot be primitive. Hitherto systematic criticism of this tradition, which is the foundation of Hebrew Grammar, has hardly kept pace with the criticism of the consonantal text, but both are alike indispensable to real progress in Old Testament philology.

Returning from this digression let us observe that while the root idea of "scraping" suits the other O. T. words derived from קצע, it affords no conceivable explanation for מִקְצוֹעַ. And as Hebrew צ corresponds to three original Semitic consonants, represented by Arabic ص, ض and ظ, Aramaic צ, ע and ט respectively, it seems not unlikely that two distinct roots are united in קצע. In point of fact the root of מקצוע is generally identified with Aramaic קטע, and so the word is taken as meaning literally "a place where something is cut off" or ends abruptly (Arabic مَقْطَع). At first sight this seems objectionable because the ט of the Aramaic root is found also in the Arabic قطع, and therefore ט not צ should appear in Hebrew also. The regular Arabic equivalent of קצע = Aramaic קטע would be a non-existent قظع. It is however to be observed that the combination قظ appears to be avoided in Arabic. There is but one certain example of it, viz. يقظ = הֵקִיץ; for وقظ and شقيظ, which Freytag gives from the Qāmūs, are not acknowledged by Jauharī and seem to be known only from obscure traditions in which there were various readings with ط instead of ظ (see the *Taj al-'Arūs*). It is therefore not impossible that قطع stands for قظع under the influence of the ق. The same phonetic change can perhaps be traced in another case. The Arabic سقط "fall" can hardly be equated to Heb. שׁקט, but may be compared with שָׁקַץ, for which the

etymological sense of "refuse" (سَقَطَ, سَقَاطَة) is altogether suitable. Here however the Aramaic fails us, so that we have no means of testing our equation; and altogether the material available for an induction as to the behaviour of ط after ق is too scanty to allow us to say more than this: that the derivation of מקצוע from a root קָצַע = קָטַע = קטע is worth considering if it is borne out by the usage of the word[1].

As regards the usage of the word the oldest evidence is that of the book of Ezekiel. In Ezek. xlvi. 21 sq. the מקצעות of a court seem to be its four corners viewed from inside, and if this passage stood alone we should find no occasion to question the adequacy of the usual interpretation of the word. But in view of other passages, presently to be discussed, it ought to be observed that in this place the four corners are represented as cut off by walls so as to form four smaller courts, or cantons as they may be called in the language of heraldry. And in the Mishna also מקצוע is used not of an angle as such, but of a canton or space cut off from an angle to contain a chamber (*Tamid* iii. 3; *Middoth* ii. 5). Now in Ezek. xli. 22 it is plain even as the text stands, that the מקצעות of the altar are a part of its structure. And this comes out more clearly when we note that the reading ומקצעותיו לו is conflate, and that one of the earlier texts, represented by LXX, Tgm., read ומקצעות לו, *καὶ κέρατα εἶχε*, while the other and better text, which is followed by Hieronymus, omits לו, and with the necessary correction of ארנו for ארכו (LXX *βάσις*) gives the sense "and its corner posts its base and its walls were of wood". The sense of our word which the context demands here is confirmed by the Rabbinical use of מקצוע for a "pillar (corner post) of the law"; cf. *στύλοι* in Galatians ii. 9. The posts of the altar, to which the boards of the framework are nailed, must of course stand inside the framework, and so will cut cantons off the angles as seen from inside, in exactly the same way as the small courts in chap. xlvi. cut cantons off the great court.

[1] It may be added that the combination ظق is also unknown in Arabic roots.

The next evidence is found in the description of the tabernacle (Exod. xxvi. 23, 24; xxxvi. 28, 29). There is no doubt that the tabernacle is to be conceived as having the same proportions as the temple, thirty cubits long and ten broad. And it is natural to take these as the outside measurements of the boarded walls. In that case the arrangement of the boards can be explained simply enough. On each side there are twenty boards making up the full length of thirty cubits. The six boards for the end make nine cubits and thus just fill up the line between the side walls if we assume the latter to be half a cubit thick. But some kind of strengthening is wanted at the angles, and this is provided by two boards serving "as corner posts for the tabernacle at its inner part" (xxvi. 23). In verse 24 we should probably read תאמים a second time in place of תמים; at all events the versions take these words in the same sense. The verse will then mean that the two corner boards are twin pieces to the extreme boards of the end wall, *i. e.* are applied face to face with them inside, so as in fact to double the thickness of the end wall for the space of a cubit and a half from each corner. Thus thickened from top to bottom the end wall comes up against the first ring of the bars that lock the boards of the side walls together. The side walls of the tabernacle, we must assume, are to be set up first and bolted together by their bars. Then the end wall is set up, and when the corner pieces are placed they come close against the first ring (*i.e.* the ring nearest the end) and keep the bars from sliding. If this explanation is correct the מקצוע of the tabernacle is precisely similar to that of Ezekiel's altar; and no other view seems to allow of the two corner boards being similar to the others, or to give a reasonable sense to ver. 24.

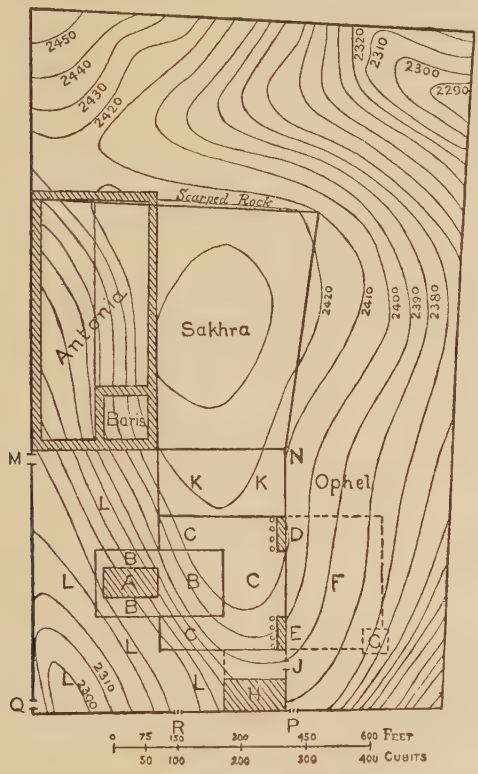
We have still to consider the מקצוע in the wall of Jerusalem. If the word means no more than the point at which the wall turns and forms a reentrant angle it is plain that the same turning cannot be referred to in Neh. iii. 20, 21 and in verses 24, 25 of the same chapter. But from 2 Chron. xxvi. 9 it appears that "the מקצוע" was as familiar a feature in the fortifications of Jerusalem as "the corner gate" or "the valley

gate" [Tyropoeon gate]. And from the same passage it appears that it was crowned by a tower, which must be identical with that mentioned in Neh. iii. 25 *sqq.* In Neh. iii. 19 we find that the eastern wall of the city, running along the face of the Kidron valley in a direction approximately northerly, reaches a point "in front of the ascent to the armoury at the מקצוע". As this ascent must have gone northwards up the hill, and the wall evidently did not continue to run alongside of it, the natural assumption is that the line of fortification now turned eastward, and at verse 24, at a distance which can hardly be less than two or three hundred feet, we come to another corner, but also are once more at the מקצוע. Or rather we are still there, for the line extending "from the מקצוע" (ver. 20), "as far as the מקצוע" (ver. 24), *i.e.* as far as the מקצוע reaches (cf. the use of עד as a conjunction in the sense of Latin *dum*), appears to run along the whole length of that feature. And as there is here a corner (פנה) the next section of the wall must again have a more northerly direction. This piece (ver. 25) faces the מקצוע and the tower by which, as we have learned from Chronicles, the מקצוע was crowned or commanded. That tower, it is obvious, was not part of the outer circuit of the wall, but belonged to an inner line of defence consisting of fortifications belonging to the upper palace. In v. 26 we must write הַיּוֹשְׁבִים for היו יושבים, and then it appears that the next succeeding piece of wall, repaired by Pedaiah and the Nethinim of Ophel, still lay opposite (*i.e.* under) the great tower, and ended at a point east of the water-gate. The water-gate therefore was not in the outer wall but belonged to the inner fortifications connected with the palace. And finally in verse 27 another group of builders still work under the great tower and carry on the wall to its junction with the wall of Ophel.

We have here a complicated topographical problem, the solution of which can be effected only by repeated trials on a contoured plan of the site. Without carrying the reader through this process I will state the only solution which I have found to answer the conditions. The Haram area as it now exists has been levelled up by retaining walls both on the south

and on the east. The temple and the royal palace adjoining it (and this palace as distinguished from that of David lower down the hill must be meant by the upper palace of Neh. iii. 25) cannot be supposed to have had such vast substructures as now exist; but even Solomon's buildings, not to speak of the additions made by his successors, cannot be placed anywhere on Mt Zion (I use this word in the Biblical sense, not in the incorrect modern one) without the use of banking and a retaining wall (cf. 1 Kings vii. 10). But it appears to follow from the passage before us that before the exile and at the time of Nehemiah the plateau of the royal buildings and temple was not carried out to the S.E. angle of the Haram area. Here on the contrary there was a reentrant angle against which the bare hill-side formed a kind of buttress. This is the way in which most level ground could be got with least building, if, as is evident from Nehemiah's description, the prison court of the palace lay on the slope of the hill, overhanging the Kidron valley, where the ground falls away to the south and east. To make this plain I introduce a plan of a proposed reconstruction of the temple plateau prepared for the article TEMPLE in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Most of the details do not concern us here; the parts with which we have to do are as follows. *QP* is the southern retaining wall of the Haram area from Robinson's arch (*Q*) to the Triple Gate (*P*). The eastern part of this wall existed in the time of Nehemiah, having been built to support the arsenal or House of the Forest of Lebanon (*H*). Then from *P* to *E* the retaining wall ran northward, and as the hill rises the depth of the wall constantly decreased, till near *E* the level of the rock corresponded with that of the plateau, and the retaining wall disappeared. But at *E* a new retaining wall, parallel to *PQ*, began (that of the prison court) and ran eastward to *G*. Along its course the hill falls away and the retaining wall became deeper and deeper. At *G* it again turned north, and at the corner presented the appearance of a huge projecting bastion. This solid bastion, with the upper works which would naturally be constructed on it, I identify with the great projecting tower of the palace which has so prominent a place in Nehemiah's description. It will now be seen that

between *P* and *G* the hill lies like a buttress against the retaining wall, and that at *J*, where it reaches the level of the inner plateau, a gate would naturally be placed. Here therefore, in the wall *PE* and very near to *E*, I place the water gate, which from Neh. iii. 26 appears to have faced the east, and which, from its name, must have opened on a road descending to



the Kidron valley. Nehemiah's wall, running northward from Siloam at some height above the valley, reached a point near *P* where an ascent led up to the site of the old arsenal (*H*). This ascent I identify with the "staircase at the wall above David's house" (Neh. xii. 37) which led straight up from the lower part of the city to an open space (Neh. viii. 1) inside the water gate. That the water gate lay on the eastern

side of this space seems to be implied in xii. 37. The arsenal of course had been burned down by Nebuchadnezzar. From Neh. iii. 20 to iii. 27 inclusive the wall described is an outwork, enclosing the buttress of rock between *P* and *G* (on which there were houses), and giving additional security to the important water gate. From a comparison of verses 19, 24 and 25, it appears that the מקצוע was enclosed in this outwork and was near to every part of it. The word therefore can hardly mean anything else than the buttress of rock, conceived as a great natural corner post sustaining the reentrant angle of the plateau[1]. The line taken by the outwork must have been determined by the contours of the hill and cannot be guessed at with precision without new excavations. The rock-contours laid down on the plan from the *Palestine Exploration* surveys are largely conjectural. But from the staircase to the "corner" (הפנה) it must have run nearly parallel to *EG*, and then, instead of turning due north, it must have still had some easting. For the part immediately beyond the corner is said to face both the rock buttress and the great tower at *G* (verse 25). And as the point due east of the water gate is not reached till verse 26 this implies that the line of the wall in verse 25 faced the south side of the great tower and therefore had something of an easterly direction. The part of the outwork spoken of in verse 27 may, on the other hand, have run more nearly north and south, for it evidently faced the east side of the great tower, ending in the wall of Ophel. Ophel, or rather "the Ophel", in the Old Testament is a fortress (Isa. xxxii. 14; 2 Chron. xxvii. 3, xxxiii. 14) and apparently the royal stronghold (Micah iv. 8). From our passage one is led to view it as a fortress forming the north-east part of the royal buildings, and so we must understand that on reaching the Ophel wall the outer wall of the city terminated in the fortifications of the palace plateau. In like manner, in the time of Josephus the

[1] On the analogy of Ezek. xlvi. it might equally well mean the whole space between the outwork and the reentrant angle of the retaining walls, but this explanation, while topographically it comes to the same thing, does not explain the expression "opposite the מקצוע" in ver. 25.

first wall of Jerusalem terminated at Ophel in the eastern wall of the temple area (*B. J.* v. 4, § 2).

In confirmation of this argument it is worth noting that the part of the wall which I treat as an outwork was not included in the procession of either of the companies described in Neh. xii., in the story of the dedication of the wall. The company that took the northern half of the circuit went no farther than the prison gate, which may be placed in the prison court of the royal buildings, and the other company, coming from Siloam, went straight up the stairs at *P*. On the view now developed this is quite intelligible; the outwork was of secondary importance, the main fortifications lying behind it and consisting essentially of the great retaining walls, which had not been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, and indeed were practically indestructible.

The final result of this examination is that a מקצוע always implies something of the nature of a support or buttress against the inner side of an angle where two walls meet, whether that support be a mere post in a wooden structure, a solid buttress of natural rock, or what I may call a hollow buttress formed by two walls enclosing a court or chamber.

In its form the word is a *nomen loci;* therefore it primarily means the place where such a feature occurs, and only in a secondary sense the support or buttress itself. If there is anything in the equation קצץ = قطع the term may be explained etymologically by observing that, where a post or buttress occupies the inside corner of a court or the like, the sharp angle of the two walls is cut off.

W. ROBERTSON SMITH.

ON THE FRAGMENTS OF THE LATIN HEXAMETER POEM CONTAINED IN THE HERCULANEAN PAPYRI.

A BRIEF account of these fragments will be found in Bährens' *Poetae Latini Minores* I. 212—214. Cf. Riese *A. L.* II. pp. 3—5. My own attention was first called to them as far back as 1863, when, owing to the efforts of Prof. Gomperz and Mr H. O. Coxe, the box in which Hayter's transcripts (made early in the century at Naples) were preserved, was, after prolonged search, discovered, and found to contain a treasure of no ordinary kind. In June of 1863 I copied the 8 folios in which Hayter, one of the most expert of draughtsmen, has reproduced the forms of the Roman letters, and the smallest particulars of the writing of the first century A.D. with a minute exactness which proves how well he was fitted for his task. The publication in 1885 of Prof. Walter Scott's *Fragmenta Herculanensia* (Clarendon Press), in which he has availed himself of Hayter's Greek transcripts, and to which Mr W. M. Lindsay has added by way of appendix a most careful facsimile of the Latin 8 folios abovementioned, gives me an opportunity of printing some remarks which a re-perusal of the poem has suggested.

Fragm. A. 7.

The ordinary prolongation of the letters *R* and *A* as exhibited in the transcripts hardly leaves room for five letters. Hence it is more probable that ADSIDUO should be read than ADSIDUOS. This is the only point of doubt which the v. admits of.

CALLIDUS . ADSIDU*O TRA*CTANDO . INMUNERE . *MARTI*S

Fragm. B. 4.

In 1863 following Hayter's transcript I supplied the missing letters as follows:

*M*AGIS . QUAM . S*I* NOS *I*STA LATER*E*NT

and I still think it may be so.

5. /UM/UPER IUS . PELUSIA OENIA . CAESAR

The letter before IUS is not L but T. The antithesis *Pelusia* suggests LATIUS. Whether CUPERET or SUPERET (? *superat*) preceded, I leave it for others to elicit. Merkel's supplements will be found in his larger edition of the Tristia and Ibis p. 332. I will here propose a conjectural restoration of this passage, which though closely following Ciampitti's differs in some important particulars.

*C*UM *CUPERET LAT*IUS PELUSIA *M*OENIA CAESAR
*COEP*ERAT IM*PE*RIIS ANIMOS COHI*BE*RE SU*O*RUM
*QUI*D CAPITIS IA*M CA*PTA? IACEN*T QUAE SUBRUTA UERBIS*
SUBRUITIS *F*ERR*O ME*A M*O*ENIA? QUON*D*AM ER*AT H*OSTIS
HAEC MIHI CUM *DOMIN*A PLEBES QUOQUE . *NUNC SIBI*
VICTRIX
VINDICAT H*ANC FA*MULAM ROMANA *POTENTIA GENTE*M

Of the restitutions I am responsible for LATIUS, SUBRUTA UERBIS, GENTEM. Most of the rest with the punctuation is Ciampitti's, whose view of the passage I hold to be substantially right. Caesar tells his soldiers not to look for any great resistance from the Alexandrian rabble and their queen. There was a time when Cleopatra and her people were real and formidable foes: now the Roman power was victorious and might assert its right to superiority over a fallen foe.

Transcript C. 3.

The first word of this v. is lost. The next two are unmistakably AL*E*XANDRO *TH*ALAMOS. Then follows /NER/RE . DE-/RUM. Obviously this is not *intrare*, but *onerare*.

4. I have no doubt that Kreyssig's conj. *tumultus*, which quite suits the truncated remains of the letters, is right.

8. This v. is sufficiently made out in all but one word.
Multa vetustatis nimio honoris.

Of the lost word C ERAT remain, i.e. according to Hayter's transcript: Ciampitti read C EDAT, and thought the word was CONCEDAT. The space however takes up more than three letters; and it seems likely that CONQUAERAT should be read.

Transcript D. 2.

The 4th and 5th words of this v. were, I think, VETERIS CULPAE; the space is too large to make CURAE probable.

3. Here our transcript is invaluable. It supplies the word indubitably.

QVA/ IGITUR . SÉGNIS . /T//NNUNC . QUAERERE . CAUSAS .

i.e. of course ETIANNUNC.

4. The first word was perhaps not *PARTHOS* but *PARTHICA*. The passage would construe if we read the two vv. thus

est mihi coniunx,
Parthica, si posset, Phariis subiungere regnis
Qui statuit, nostraeque mori pro nomine gentis.

Cleopatra is speaking of Antonius, who has identified his cause with her own and that of Alexandria. But *statuit* (Ciampitti) is very doubtful. Lindsay gives very clearly QUI . S then a lacuna of 4 or 5 letters, then an imperfect letter which may be U or N, then NIT: and so Hayter.

Transcript E. 1.

///CTUMQ//////M QUO NOXIA TURBA COIRET.

At the beginning of the v. not fewer than 3, perhaps not more than 4 letters are lost. Possibly ERECTUMQUE LOCUM. The poet seems to describe the ἦρίον or raised tomb to which Cleopatra betook herself before her death, and into which she caused serpents to be conveyed (*noxia turba*). The subject changes in v. 2

PRAEBERETQUE . SUAE . SPECTACULA . TRISTIA . MORTIS .

to Cleopatra.

Transcript F. 2.

AUT PENDENTE IS CERUICIBUS . ASPIDE . MOLLEM .

Possibly CAU are the missing letters. The space would thus be sufficiently filled, as each of these three letters *sprawls* as written in the papyrus elsewhere.

Transcript G. 5.

The immediately preceding vv. describe Atropos eying the unhappy Cleopatra as she wavered between diverse forms of death.

3. Haec regina gerit. procul hanc occulta uidebat
Atropos inridens inter diuersa uagantem
Consilia interitus.

Then the transcript gives, as I read it, though the O may have been a A,

QU*AM* *TAM* . OUA FATA MANERENT

This must be, I think,

QUAM TAM NOUA FATA MANERENT

AM and T which I have italicized are, notwithstanding much of them is lost, beyond doubt: but the loss of N before O (through which Lindsay's transcript marks an irregular line, hardly traceable in Hayter) has no other parallel in the fragments.

6—8

Ter fuerat reuocata dies, cum parte senatus
Et patriae comitante suae cum milite Caesar
Gentis Alexandri ad moenia uenit
Signaque constituit, sic omnes terror in artum

Of v. 8 the words *Gentis Alexandri* are certain. The last word is given by Hayter VENIS, by Ciampitti VENIT which must of course be right. Of AD MOENIA, the last stroke of the A, the D, the E and N remain: yet no real doubt can exist about this either. But the word between is open to much dispute. Hayter gives CA/EN/, but of the letter after A enough is figured to prove that it was R or N. Ciampitti gives C...EN. each of the dots roughly representing a letter. If Hayter was right in giving CA, the nearest word possible is CARENA, the adj. formed from Carae, Carrae, or Carrhae. Steph. B. Κάρραι πόλις Μεσοποταμίας, ἀπὸ

Καρρᾶ ποταμοῦ Συρίας, τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καρρηνὸς ἢ καὶ Καρραῖος[1]. It is however difficult or impossible to see how Augustus can have been marching to Carrhae at this time, when Cleopatra was still meditating suicide, but had not yet killed herself; *afterwards* he returned home through Syria and might (though I know of no passage which states that he did) visit Carrhae. It had occurred to me that some part of the walls of Alexandria might have been called the wall of the Carrhenes; but this is mere conjecture. If we are to trust Ciampitti, the obvious word is CURRENS; and this well agrees with the description of the march in the preceding vv. 'Three morns had passed, and Caesar was already at the walls of Alexandria.' *Currere* of a rapid journey as in Phil. III. 12. 30, *ad legiones Brundisium cucurrerit.* X. 5. 10 *is tamquam extruderetur a senatu in Macedoniam et non contra prohiberetur proficisci, ita cucurrit.*

[1] It is noticeable that the *whole* v. is explicable on the hypothesis that Carrhae is alluded to. A colony of Macedonians had settled there. Diod. 19. 91 τῶν ἐν Κάρραις κατῳκισμένων Μακεδόνων, hence *Gentis Alexandri* would be strictly appropriate.

R. ELLIS.

KIN AND CUSTOM.

KIN and Custom go together and imply each other, as do Law and State. Law is the enactment of the State: Custom is the habit of the Kin. And as Custom precedes Law, so the State is preceded by kin or sib associations. The earliest form of the State is modelled on that of the sib associations, out of which it is developed: and the first laws promulgated by the State are but the old Customs committed to writing. We may therefore expect to find in the organisation of the State traces of the sib associations of which it is an artificial extension; and from the Laws of the State we may expect to recover the Customs which regulated the life of the Kin at a time when Law and State were not.

As the political States into which the various members of the Aryan stock formed themselves were posterior to the dispersion of the Aryan family, it is a necessary inference that our Aryan forefathers were held together by sib associations, and were governed by Custom. The customs, by which they lived in their original Aryan home, they carried with them into their new settlements; these Customs became their Laws, and in their laws we still find traces of those customs.

The resemblance between the Gortyna Code and Attic law in the matter of inheritance ab intestato, *ἀγχιστεία*, is too close to be accidental and not close enough to admit of the theory that either set of provisions was imitated from the other. The only admissible explanation is that both had a common origin. We may therefore fairly use one to explain the other. The legitimacy of this, the comparative method, is not likely to be disputed in England at least; for, thanks to Sir Henry Maine,

the comparative study of ancient law has been placed on a wide and firm foundation. In Germany, too, it might have been expected that the comparative method would have been applied to the study of Greek law, for as long ago as 1813 Bunsen made an attempt to explain Solon's provisions in the matter of *ἀγχιστεία* by a reference to the regulations of Manu on the same subject. He said, *De jure hereditario Athenien-sium*, pp. 111 and 112, "in antiquissimo atque sanctissimo illo Indorum legum codice, qui a Menu, homine et rege primo, Bramae filio, compositus esse fertur, illum juris hereditarii Attici successionis ordinem clarius quam in ipsis Solonis legi-bus expositum, ejusque rationem et totius juris hereditarii sanctitatem declaratam esse monstrabimus." Yet this fertile suggestion has never, to my knowledge, been worked out either in England or in Germany. In England the com-parative method has been applied exclusively to the elucid-ation of Roman law. In Germany the study of Greek law has been followed without reference to comparative law. Leist indeed has in his *Graeco-Italische Rechtsgeschichte* (Jena, 1884) at last made a valuable contribution to the subject, though its value is unfortunately diminished by the fact that he has limited himself to Graeco-Italian and Hindu law; and Jacob Simon in his edition of the Gortyna Code (Wien, 1886) has some references to Slavonic and Germanic law; but both like other Germans seem quite to ignore the work of writers like Sir Henry Maine. In France, E. Caillemer, the most lucid writer who has ever dealt with Greek law, denies many of Bunsen's conclusions, ignores M. Fustel de Coulanges and re-jects his method. Where Caillemer disagrees with Bunsen Caillemer is usually right. But though Bunsen's conclusions are sometimes wrong, his method was not wrong. It was faultily applied. If to this we add the fact that Bunsen overlooked many, most, of the points in Greek law and politics which at once exemplify and confirm his theory, we shall have the reason why his keen conjecture has never been worked out in Germany or France.

All discussions about *ἀγχιστεία*, or inheritance ab intestato, must start from the words of Sir Henry Maine, *Ancient Law*,

p. 177, "in all indigenous societies, a condition of jurisprudence in which testamentary privileges are *not* allowed, or rather not contemplated, has preceded that later stage of legal development in which the mere will of the proprietor is permitted under more or less of restriction to over ride the claims of his kindred in blood." Before Solon, as we have known for some time from Plutarch, *Sol.* 21, the power of bequest was unknown[1]. And now we have in the Gortyna Code an example of a body of law in which testamentary principles are not contemplated. No mention is made of a Will in the Code, but the order of succession to property is fully regulated. As however these regulations closely resemble those which in the law of Solon, Dem. *c. Macart.* 1067, regulate inheritance ab intestato, it is clear that the provisions made in Solon's law were not Solon's invention entirely, but were simply the embodiment and modification of the customary order of succession, common to Athenians, Cretans, Hindus and all Aryans alike. Solon's enactment and the Gortyna Code may have been the first laws in Greece which stated the *ἀγχιστεία*. But custom precedes law, and the custom regulating *ἀγχιστεία* comes down from Aryan times.

Now, to ascertain the nature of the custom, and the modifications introduced into it by Solon and at Gortyna respectively. The Gortyna Code not contemplating a Will declares that on the death of a man his property passes to his children if he has any, his grand-children or his great-grand-children[2]. The

[1] Meier and Schömann's denial of this fact (*der Attische Process* p. 572 *ed.* Lipsius) seems to me perfectly gratuitous. There is not the least trace of the existence of any testamentary power at Athens, however limited, before Solon. Dem. *c. Sept.* 102 is not inconsistent with the introduction of this power by Solon, *ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἔθηκε νόμον ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἄν τις βούληται*; and Plut. *Sol.* 21 is inconsistent with the pre-Solonian existence of the power of bequest.

[2] v. 7 *ἔ κ' ἀπ[ο]θάνει ἀνὲρ...αἰ μὲν κ' ἒι τέκνα ἒ ἐς τέκνον τέκ[ν]α ἒ ἐς τοὔτον τέκνα, τούτος ἔκ[εν] τὰ κρέματα.* This passage of the Gortyna Code—discovered of course after Leist had written his *Graeco-Italische Rechtsgeschichte* — completely refutes his statement, p. 74, that the limitation to the third degree of direct descendants is "wholly unproved and improbable." He says on the same page that it is "decidedly erroneous" to imagine that the *sui heredes* of Roman law were limited in any such way. But the analogy of the Greeks and other nations entitles us to ask for his evidence.

so-called Code of Manu, also not contemplating a Will, says, IX. 185, "Not brothers, nor parents, but sons are heirs to the deceased." And in 186 it goes on to say that the fourth in descent (i.e. the great-grand-son) is heir in default of nearer descendants. At Athens also a man could not make a Will if he left legitimate children; and the limit here too was the fourth in descent (Isaeus, p. 216). In all three codes, the children might divide the property (Gortyna Code v. 30, Manu IX. 104, Isaeus, *Philoc.* § 24)[1]. With the Hindus the brothers might if they liked continue to live together on the undivided estate (Manu IX. 105, Gaut. XXVIII. 1). And this was probably the original custom.

In default of children, grand-children and great-grand-children, at Gortyna the deceased was succeeded by his brother, his brother's son or his brother's grandson[2]. At Athens the order of succession, ab intestato, was the same[3]. If the brother's stock failed, then at Gortyna the sister, her children or her grand-children succeeded[4]. So too at Athens[5]. According to

[1] At Athens, as we shall see, the children frequently continued to live on the undivided estate.

[2] v. 13 *αἰ δέ κα μέτις εἶ τούτον, ἀδελπιοὶ δὲ τῶ ἀποθανόντος κέκς* [ἀδ]ε[λπ]ιὸν *τέκνα ἒ ἐς τούτον τέκνα, τούτος ἔκεν τὰ κρέματα.*

[3] Dem. *c. Macart.* 1067 *ἐὰν μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ὦσιν ὁμοπάτορες, καὶ ἐὰν παῖδες ἐξ ἀδελφῶν γνήσιοι, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μοῖραν λαγχάνειν, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀδελφοὶ ὦσιν ἢ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες, τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν κατὰ ταὐτὰ λαγχάνειν.* From this we may perhaps infer that at Gortyna too it was necessary that the *ἀδελπιοί* should be *ὁμοπάτορες* and the *τέκνα* be *γνήσιοι*. That the heirs, if e.g. there were two brothers or two brothers' sons, divided equally is patent, and is further implied by *κατὰ ταὐτά*.

[4] *εἰ δὲ κα μέτις εἶ τούτον, ἀδευπιαὶ δὲ τῶ ἀποθανόντος κὲς ταυτᾶν τέκνα ἒ ἐς τὸν τέκνον τέκνα.* The daughters in this case were heiresses (VIII. 40) and were married to the next of kin (VII. 15).

[5] This is distinctly implied in Solon's law, which after the words quoted above in note [3], goes on: *κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἀῤῥένας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀῤῥένων ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὦσι καὶ ἐὰν γένει ἀπωτέρω.* The words *ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν* cannot mean "from the same father and mother," for the law has already said that for a man to inherit from his brother it is only necessary that the brothers should be *ὁμοπάτορες*. Caillemer (*Droit de Succession* p. 93) therefore gives up the reading as meaningless, adopts the reading *ἐκ τούτων* from the parallel passage in Isaeus, and violently interpolates (*ib.* 104) the words *ἀδελφὰς καὶ παῖδας* between *ἀδελφῶν παῖδες* and *ἐξ αὐτῶν*. This is unscholarly and unnecessary. *Τῶν αὐτῶν* is masculine and *ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν* means "from the same male ascendants." The law says: if there are brothers and sisters descended from the same father or

the Code of Manu in default of sons the deceased was succeeded by his brother or his brother's son or grandson[1]. Here it is of the highest importance to notice the language of the Hindu Code, which says (IX. 187), "To the nearest *sapinda* after him in the third degree the inheritance next belongs," i.e. after the deceased. The identity of the *sapinda*, with the ὀργεῶνες, I have shewn elsewhere[2]. *Sapindas* were those persons of male sex who united in offering a funeral oblation (a cake) to their deceased House-Father; and who continued in Aryan times, and in India do continue to this present day, to live together in what modern Anglo-Indian lawyers call a Joint Undivided Family. If one of these *sapindas* in his turn died, his share in the joint property and his acquests went "to the nearest *sapinda* after him," i.e. in the first instance to his brother, and then to his nephew, provided always that the property did not pass further than the third degree from the deceased House-Father, i.e. did not pass further than his brother's grandson. Manu expressly says, *l.c.*, "for three ancestors is the funeral cake ordained." At Athens the ὀργεῶνες were a man's descendants to the third degree: and τριγονία or the Triple Descent has left traces elsewhere in Attic law. Both at Athens and Gortyna the right of inheritance was limited to descendants in the third degree, as we have already seen. The same limitation is found in other Aryan peoples; and is undoubtedly the survival of an Aryan custom. Caillemer therefore is wrong (p. 13) in supposing that property could descend further than the third degree: Leist (p. 24) is wrong in saying that it passed only to the deceased's nephew, who was descended from the House-Father

grandfather, the brothers exclude the sisters. This implies (1) that in default of brothers, sisters being heiresses succeeded: (2) that κρατεῖν τοὺς ἄῤῥενας only applied to the issue of males not to the issue of females (to whom as we shall see a different rule applied).

According to Caillemer's reading, ἐκ τούτων, the rule κρατεῖν τοὺς ἄῤῥενας κ.τ.λ. would only apply to those descended ἐκ τούτων, i.e. from the persons already mentioned, that is from brothers of the deceased. But the law certainly applied to those who were descended from the father of the deceased, i.e. the deceased's brother excluded his sister.

[1] Leist, p. 24, overlooks this and the law of Solon; and excludes the brother's grandson.

[2] *Development of the Athenian Democracy* (Griffin and Co.: London).

(the deceased's father) in the second degree. The principle which regulated the customary order of succession in Aryan times—there was no *legal* order then—is simplicity itself when once understood: if the deceased were himself a House-Father, the head of a Joint Undivided Family, he was succeeded by one of his descendants, to the third degree, i.e. by his son, grandson or great-grandson. If the deceased were not himself a House-Father he was succeeded by one of the Joint Undivided Family to which he belonged[1], i.e. by one of the descendants of his House-Father: and as the Joint Undivided Family was limited to three degrees, the successor to the deceased was his brother, nephew or grand-nephew.

In Aryan times the question when a man died was not who should inherit his property? for in the Joint Undivided Family there was no separate property, but who should perform his funeral rites? and when the deceased was a House-Father, who should succeed to the office? Finally, when the family divided, the question of property arose, and property followed the duty of offering the funeral oblation.

In default of direct descendants to the third degree, and in default of ὀργεῶνες, or those who had joined the deceased in making a funeral offering to his House-Father, i.e. in default of brothers, nephews and grand-nephews, the deceased was succeeded, according to the Custom as incorporated in Solon's law, by relatives on the father's side "as far as cousins' sons," μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων. Under the same circumstances, the deceased was according to the Custom as embodied in the Code of Manu, IX. 187, succeeded by the *Samanodocas*. The *Samanodocas* are persons not members of the Joint Family but related to it. They are not descendants of the head of the Joint Family, the House-Father, but are related to him. They are descendants of his father. They are called *Samanodocas*, offerers of a joint libation, because when the House-Father dies they join in offering a libation at his funeral.

[1] So too at Rome: "On the failure of the *sui* (or direct descendants who had never been emancipated) the Nearest Agnate came into their place, that is, the nearest person or class of the kindred who was or might have been under the same Patria Potestas with the deceased." *Ancient Law*, 199.

In Athens they were called ὁμογάλακτες, because the joint libation was—not, as among the Hindus, water but—milk. Now when the deceased is not himself a House-Father—and the Custom, embodied in the Codes of Gortyna, Solon and Manu, after providing for cases in which the deceased is a House-Father, proceeds to contemplate this contingency—he is as we have seen succeeded in the first instance by his *Sapindas* or ὀργεῶνες, the descendants of his House-Father to the third degree; next, failing them, by his *Samanodocas* or ὁμογάλακτες, that is by the descendants of his grandfather, to the third degree. And the descendants of his grandfather to the third degree are his uncle, his cousin and his cousin's son.

The Gortyna code provides that, in default of direct descendants and of ὁμόκαποι, as the ὀργεῶνες or *sapindas* were called in Crete (Arist. *Pol.* I. i. 7), the deceased shall be succeeded by "the proper persons, whosoever," οἷς κ' ἐπιβάλλει, ὁπῶ κ' εἶ, VI. 23. And commentators on the Code complain that it does not specify who "the proper persons" are. Obviously it was perfectly well understood in Gortyna who were designated by this expression, or the Code would have been more explicit. It is impossible, with the Codes of Manu and Solon before us, to doubt that the Gortyna Code incorporates the same Custom as do they. The reason therefore why it was unnecessary to use any more precise expression in the Gortyna Code was that the Custom was still so firmly fixed that explanation was unnecessary. I conclude therefore that the Gortyna Code, in default of descendants to the third degree and of ὁμόκαποι, called the ὁμογάλακτες to inherit, i.e. the uncle, cousin and cousin's son of the deceased.

According to Hindu law, failing *Sapindas* and *samanodocas*, the *sagotras* or *sakulyas* were called to inherit (cf. Gautama XVIII. 6, XIV. 13, Âpastamba II. vi. 14, with Haradatta's commentary). The *sagotras* are those bearing the same name with the deceased, i.e. members of the same γένος. As opposed to the *sapindas* and *samanodocas*—the near kin or agnates—they are the remote kin or *gentiles*. That is to say, whereas the *sapindas* are the descendants of the father of the deceased, and the *samanodocas* of his grandfather, the *sagotras* are the

descendants of his great-grandfather, his great-great-grandfather and so on. But as it is difficult to prove such remote degrees of relationship it seems to have been the Aryan custom to accept possession of the same name, or residence in the same village-community, as the deceased, as evidence of kinship with him. And the reason is that the village-community consisted of off-shoots from a single Joint Undivided Family (cf. *Dev. of Ath. Dem.* p. 29 ff.). Aristotle, *Pol.* I. i., regards the κώμη or village-community as the natural extension of the οἰκία or Joint Undivided Family. This was the case with Saxon settlements in England: "all the primitive villages in whose name the patronymic syllable *-ing* occurs were originally colonised by communities united either really by blood or by the belief in a common descent," Stubbs *Const. Hist.* I. 81 and cf. Kemble, *Saxons* I. 580 and App. A.

Thus the members of a village-community possessed the same patronymic; and so did members of the same γένος. Consequently it is immaterial whether we say that—in default of near kin—the deceased was, according to the Custom, succeeded by members of his γένος or of the village-community to which he belonged. At Gortyna the latter expression was chosen, τᾶς Fοικίας οἵ τινές κ᾽ ἴοντι ὁ κλᾶρος, v. 26.

The distinction between the Near and the Remote Kin is common to all branches of the Ayran family: and as its origin is not to be looked for in the enactment of any Aryan law-giver, or in any convention arrived at by the Aryans; we must seek to explain it by the conditions under which the Aryans lived. The Aryan village-community consisted of a collection of Joint Undivided Families, descended from a common ancestor. A man was near a-kin to the members of the Joint Undivided Family to which he belonged. His Remote Kin were members of other Joint Undivided Families. Property passed, according to the Custom, in the first instance to the Near Kin, and only in the second instance to the Remote Kin. Now as long as the Joint Undivided Family was the only mode of family life practised, there could be no

doubt who were a man's Near Kin. But when migration from the original home began to break up this mode of family life, it became necessary—for the first time—to define the Near Kin. And different branches of the Aryan family seem to have adopted different definitions. About the principle there was no doubt. A man's Near Kin were those who would have belonged to the same Joint Undivided Family, would have been under the same *patria potestas*, had they lived according to the old mode. Again there was no doubt as to the limits of the Undivided Family and the *patria potestas*. Three generations gave the limit unanimously observed by all branches of the Aryan family. But the question, under whose *patria potestas* would the deceased have been? was answered in different ways. The Greeks assumed that he would have been in the first instance in the Joint Undivided Family, in the *potestas*, of his father: and consequently that in the first instance his property would descend to his father's descendants to the third degree, to the ὀργεῶνες as they were called at Athens, or ὁμόκαποι as they were called in Crete. Failing ὀργεῶνες, the Greeks assumed that the deceased would have been in the Undivided Family of his grandfather; and that therefore his grandfather's descendants to the third degree, the ὁμογάλακτες as they were called at Athens, would inherit. But this was the limit of the Near Kin according to Greek notions. Other members of the Aryan family however, as for instance the Italians, assumed that the deceased would have been in the Joint Undivided Family of his great-grandfather; and therefore that his heirs were his great-grandfather's descendants to the third degree, i.e. second cousins.

But although the Greeks and Romans differed as to where the ἀγχιστεῖς as the Greeks called the Near Kin, or the Agnates as the Romans called them, ceased and the Remote Kin began, they agreed in limiting the Near Kin to the third degree, the fourth person, in descent, from the ascendant in whose *potestas* they assumed the deceased to have been: that is they limited the Near Kin to the members of the Joint Family to which the deceased was assumed to belong.

But Leist (p. 82), says that to speak of the ἀγχιστεῖς "as

Greek agnates" is "totally unjustifiable[1]." He denies as a matter of fact that they were agnates; and as a matter of theory that the *patria potestas* had in Greece reached the development necessary for the evolution of the idea of agnation. The ἀγχιστεῖς group according to Leist (p. 82) is based on the *obsequium* due to parents; the idea of agnation on the *patria potestas:* the difference between the ἀγχιστεῖς group and the group of agnates is due to the development of an "entirely abstract theory" in Latium, and to a mode of counting relationship peculiar to Italy (p. 23): the existence of the *patria potestas* at Rome reduced to one level son and daughter, who divided the paternal inheritance: the non-existence of the *patria potestas* in Greece resulted in the total exclusion of the daughter by the son from the inheritance.

Now in Greece no woman could be the head of a household. Every woman was in the Hand of some κύριος. No woman had any standing before the law. Only children of the same father could divide an inheritance. Children of the same mother (and different fathers) could not inherit from each other. Only children of the same father could inherit from each other. It must therefore be admitted that at first sight it is somewhat surprising to find that according to Leist the Near Kin were agnates in Rome and were not agnates in Greece. "Qui per feminini sexus personas cognatione conjunguntur, non sunt agnati, sed alias naturali jure cognati," Gaius I. 156. And, says Leist, even amongst the ἀγχιστεῖς "die Verbindung durch Frauen vollgenügend für das Erbrecht ist," (p. 83). In proof of this assertion he refers to Dem. *c. Leoch.* In this case, as Leist truly says, both defendant and plaintiff were issues of females. But, I reply, the defendant claimed the property as being the adopted son of the deceased. The plaintiff did not profess to be an agnate or one of the ἀγχιστεῖς. He claimed under the provision of Solon's law which in default of ἀγχιστεῖς calls the Remote Kin to inherit

[1] As however he has already said on p. 71 that "wir sind vollberechtigt von einem griechischen Rechte der Agnation zu reden" if we always remember the essential differences between it and the agnation of Roman law, it is difficult to know exactly what his real opinion is.

(ἐὰν δὲ μηδετέρωθεν ᾖ ἐντὸς τούτων, τὸν πρὸς πατρὸς ἐγγυτάτω κύριον εἶναι). Leist's contention, therefore, that the ἀγχιστεῖς included persons not agnates, falls to the ground.

But it may be said that both at Athens and Gortyna in default of brothers and brothers' sons, sisters and sisters' sons were called to inherit[1]; and that therefore the latter were at once ἀγχιστεῖς and cognates. The reply is that only a woman having neither father nor brother could inherit. Such a woman according to the definition of the Gortyna Code, VIII. 40, is an heiress: and the next of kin was bound to marry her. If he was already married, he must divorce his wife. If the heiress was already married, she must leave her husband. The children therefore resulting from the marriage of the heiress and the next of kin were agnates, and did not inherit "per feminini sexus personas." The children of the heiress by her former husband were not heirs to the estate. They were not ὁμοπάτορες or ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν with her children by the next of kin. They were not ἀγχιστεῖς or agnates: and if they ever claimed the estate, as did the defendant in Dem. *c. Leochar.*,

[1] As regards Athens this inference seems to me to clearly follow from the much vexed clause in Solon's law κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς ἄρρενας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀρρένων, ἐὰν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὦσι, κἂν γένει ἀπωτέρω. With the interpretation given by Meier and Schömann, *der Attische Process*, p. 586 *ed.* Lipsius, I cannot agree, although it receives the weighty support of Lipsius, against whose profound knowledge of Greek law it is presumptuous to match oneself. According to M. and S., the uncle and aunt of the deceased are ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν (whatever that may mean), and consequently the aunt was excluded by the uncle or his sons. Again the uncle's son and the uncle's daughter are ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, and consequently the uncle's daughter was excluded by the uncle's son or his sons' sons. So far I agree with M. and S. But when M. and S. go on to say that the same principle did not apply to the brothers and sisters of the deceased, that there is "eine allerdings auffällige Abweichung" in the principle applied to uncle and aunt and that applied to brothers and sisters, I must dissent. Brothers and sisters were certainly ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, and sisters were certainly excluded by brothers or brother's sons. There was no variation in the principle. It was applied in exactly the same way to brothers and sisters as to uncles and aunts.

There remains the important question whether a sister was excluded by an uncle of the deceased. As I state in the text, when a sister was the only member of the Joint Family left on the Joint Estate—when she had neither father nor brother—she was an heiress, and would be necessarily married by the next of kin.

they did so not as ἀγχιστεῖς but as τοὺς πρὸς πατρὸς ἐγγυτάτω, and in default of all other claimants.

As Leist has got the facts wrong, we shall not be surprised to find that his explanation is wrong also. In Greece as at Rome the *patria potestas* was developed to such an extent that son and daughter were reduced to one level and divided the inheritance: for in the Gortyna Code it is provided that (with the exception of the houses in town and the live-stock) all the property shall be divided, a son receiving twice as much as a daughter[1].

The inclusion of second cousins in the "cognatio," so far from being peculiar to Latium or due to any specifically Italian mode of reckoning, is found in many Aryan peoples. In the "Ancient Laws of Wales" (II. 427) we find "the ancestors of a person are his father and his grandfather and his great grand-

[1] I am inclined to think this may have been the case at Athens even in some cases with the Joint Estate. The clause in the Gortyna Code which provides for the division of property, is quite separate from that which regulates the order of succession. Now we do possess in Solon's Code the clause regulating the order of succession; but owing to our defective authorities we do not possess the clause providing for the division of property. But I think we may infer the existence of such a clause from Isaeus *de Philoctemonis*. From that speech we learn that Euctemon's property was divided between his two grand-sons and one grand-daughter in such a way that the grand-daughter received one fifth of the property. This has caused great difficulty to writers on Greek law. Some imagine that daughters and mothers divided the property between them—but Caillemer, D.S.L. 53, has exploded that notion. Others, including Caillemer, incline to reject the words πέμπου μέρους in favour of the conjecture ἐπὶ μέρους. But if we assume that at Athens as at Gortyna property was divided between male and female issue, as 2 : 1 we seem to have a satisfactory explanation of the difficulty.

As I have stated above, the provision in Solon's law, κρατεῖν τοὺς ἄῤῥενας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀῤῥένων, seems to apply only to τοὺς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, i.e. "descendants of the same male ascendants"; and consequently the provision, κρατεῖν τοὺς ἄῤῥενας κ.τ.λ., only applies to the issue of males. To the issue of females, as on the analogy of the Gortyna Code I conjecture, a different provision applied, viz. that the male issue of females received twice as much as the female issue of females. That is why the sons of Euctemon's daughter each received twice as much as the daughter of his daughter.

From Dem. *c. Leochar.* we see that the issue of females could claim the estate not as ἀγχιστεῖς but only in default of all other heirs and as πρὸς πατρὸς ἐγγυτάτω. From Isaeus *de Phil.* we see how the estate was divided between τοὺς πρὸς πατρὸς ἐγγυτάτω.

father: the co-inheritors are brothers and cousins and second cousins." The same is the case in the laws of the Langobards, of Rothar and of Bavaria, and with the Irish *Fine*. The Saxons on the other hand seem to have alone coincided with the Greeks: for the Saxon Maeg like the Greek ἀγχιστεῖς extended only to first cousins.

To say as Leist does that the group of ἀγχιστεῖς has a different basis from that of the agnates; because the former is based on the *obsequium* of children to parents, the latter on the father's *potestas* over his children, seems to me fine-drawn. The *obsequium* of children to a deceased parent consisted in offering the *sacra* to his spirit. According to Aryan Custom only to males and only by their male issue could such *sacra* be offered. The duty of offering the *sacra*, and the inheritance of the estate went together: and as in Greece no woman could offer or receive the *sacra*, could be the head of a household during her life or its House Spirit after her decease, we must I think conclude that the ἀγχιστεῖς system was agnatic.

To specialise is undoubtedly often good, but there is one method in which specialisation is dangerous—and that is the comparative method. It is because Leist has confined himself practically to Greek and Roman law that he has fallen into the error of imagining that there is something peculiar in the Roman view of the Near Kin. It is this vain attempt to specialise in a comparative science that has led him to limit the principle of the "three descents" to the Hindus and the Graeco-italians (p. 24); to say that its existence in Hindu law "proves nothing for the Greeks and Romans[1]" (p. 74), and that it is obviously the refinement of a later age (*ib.*). Now it is true that there is much in "the sacred laws of the Hindus" which is of late date. These "sacred laws" are not revealed,

[1] As however he admits that the ἀγχιστεῖς and the Agnati find their explanation in this principle; and as his denial of the applicability of the principle to direct descendants in Greek law is wholly disproved by the Gortyna Code, it is difficult to follow him. He admits that the limit of ascendants was three: refuses to admit the same limit for descendants. He admits that the acceptance of an inheritance involved the performance of the *sacra;* refuses to admit that the transmission of the inheritance was regulated by the same principles as the transmission of the *sacra* (p. 74).

as the orthodox in India believe; nor are they laws which were ever enacted and enforced as were the laws of Solon. The so-called Code of Manu or Mânava-dharma-*s*âstra, as Prof. Max Müller has shewn, has its source in the Sûtras, and is at the least post-Vaidic. The Sûtras themselves belong to the end of the Vaidic period, and are but metrical versions of the prose treatises of the Brâhma*n*as, which are themselves studies of the Vaidic hymns. Thus as the Code of Manu says, II. 6, "the roots of the Law are the whole Veda."

But if this is the case the value of these "sacred laws" as evidence for Aryan times is much weakened. But I venture to think that the Mânava-dharma-*s*âstra and other Sm*r*itis draw on a much more valuable source of information than the Vedas; and that is the actual Customs themselves, which have persisted in many cases with singular tenacity in India to the present day. The Sûtras, the immediate sources of the Sm*r*itis, were the possession of individual families and frequently take their names from the families to which they belonged. The Code of Manu or Mânava-dharma-*s*âstra is called by Prof. Max Müller "the last redaction of the laws of the Mânavas." Now it is in a Brahmanic Kin that we may naturally look to find primitive Customs handed down with considerable fidelity. And we find in the Code of Manu, II. 6, Custom placed by the side of the Veda as "a root of the Law." The various collections of sacred laws were then attempts to codify Customs, inherited from Aryan times, and to harmonise them with the Brahmanic interpretation of the Vedas. This comes out very clearly in Âpastamba, II. vi. 15, "by this discussion the law of custom which is observed in particular countries or families has been disposed of." This passage is interesting as showing that Customs survived in full force in the more conservative Kins; and that primitive Aryan customs came into collision, at times, with the teaching of the Vedas.

The Code of Manu although in its present form probably later than Âpastamba, Gautama, Vasish*th*a Baudhâyana or Vishnu, is I am inclined to think a better source of information for primitive Aryan Customs than they, because the Mânavas seem to have been a kin particularly conservative of the Customs they in-

herited from a time antecedent to the Vedas. Whether any given Sûtra represents an original Custom or is the refinement of a later age is a matter for investigation and a question of evidence. The customary order of succession to an inheritance has obviously been often modified in the Sûtras for the aggrandisement of "spiritual teachers"; but the primitive Custom can often be recovered even in the Sûtras by a comparison of the customary provisions in default of sons, and of the *Srâddhas*, where the "spiritual teachers" had no material inducement to tamper with the Custom. In the next place a comparison of the Custom followed by other branches of the Aryan family enables us to distinguish between Sûtras derived from Customs, and from other sources. Finally, as Kin and Custom go together and imply each other, a primitive Custom will be found to accord with and be explained by the mode of life prevalent when the State had not yet displaced sib associations.

Now the principle of the "three descents" is common to Teutons and Celts as well as to Greeks, Romans and Hindus. The traces of its influence are numerous in the political organisation of the Greeks, as I have shown elsewhere. It is found in Athens and Ionic cities as well as in Crete and Dorian cities. It is at the base of the Athenian conception of the γένος, was long the condition of citizenship and still longer the condition of office at Athens, and in other states (not mentioned by name) was even in Aristotle's time still the condition of citizenship. It defines the limit of the obligation to pursue the blood-feud in the time of Homer as well as of Dracon, and in Iceland as well as in Greece. It explains the hereditary provisions of the law of Athens and Gortyna alike; and explains the Greek custom hitherto unexplained of naming a son after his grandfather.

We may therefore accept the principle of the three descents when it occurs in the Mânava-dharma-*sâstra* as primitive Custom and not as the refinement of a late age: and we may confidently look to find its explanation in the mode of life of the original Aryans. That explanation is afforded by the Joint Undivided Family. To say that Leist denies the existence of the Joint Undivided Family would be inaccurate, for so far as appears he

does not seem to have heard of it. But he does deny that the form of Aryan society was Patriarchal, and, relying on Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben*, he asserts that "regelmässig ziehen die Neuvermählten ins neuerrichtete Haus" (p. 65), and that a son when he married erected a house of his own and began to be independent. As English scholars know, the precise reverse of this is the state of the case amongst the Hindus at the present day, where the descendants of one father live together to the third generation in a Joint Undivided Family. The Slavonic House Community shows at this time the same formation as the Joint Family of the Hindus. The newly-married son's "bride lives under the common roof and the common rule" (Dixon, *Free Russia*, II. 40). In both cases the Family forms a corporation: and the primitive Aryan Household undoubtedly also formed a corporation, for traces of the corporate character of the Household are to be found in all Aryan nations.

Here I propose to offer some proof of the existence of the Joint Undivided Family and its corporate character in Greece. In Homer, in the Iliad the married sons of Priam together with their wives dwell under Priam's roof; in the Odyssey, Nestor's house includes his sons and daughters-in-law, and Menelaus brings home a wife for his son. The Gortyna Code, IV. 24, provides that a father is at liberty but is not compelled to divide his property between his sons. Here it is evidently implied that the usual course was for the Family to remain joint and undivided during the lifetime of the father; and we may reasonably compare the provision of Hindu law, Baudhâyana II. ii. 3, that "a father may divide his property equally among all." After the decease of the father, the sons, according to the Gortyna Code, might continue to live in a joint undivided family, or not, as they liked, V. 30. In Athens the law was the same, as we learn from Dem. *c. Leoch.* In this case Euthymachus had three sons, who on the death of their father continued to live on the joint undivided property. Eventually one of them died; and the remaining two still continued to live on the undivided estate (*ἀνέμητον οὐσίαν*, § 10). Then one of them married, brought home his wife, and still the two brothers, the wife, and the child by the marriage, continued to

live in one joint undivided family, even till the daughter was old enough to be offered in marriage by her father to her uncle. The offer was declined and the family continued to live together till the death of the old bachelor (*c. Leochar.* 10). Here I wish to note in passing that the daughter was considered to be and is called by Demosthenes (§ 17) the joint daughter of both brothers; and that she was given in marriage eventually and dowered by the brothers jointly (*ἐκδιδόασι τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὁ Μειδυλίδης καὶ ὁ Ἀρχιάδης*). The supposition of polyandry is impossible, for the daughter as we have seen was at one time offered by her father to his brother as wife.

In Aesch. *c. Timarch.* § 102 we find another case of a family remaining joint and undivided after the father's death. In this case three brothers lived together; one married and brought home a wife; and they continued to live together, until first one and then another died, leaving behind them one son, joint heir to the whole estate. Another Joint Undivided Family occurs in Isaeus *de Philoctemonis.* In this case Euctemon had a son Philoctemon, who married, continued to live on the joint estate, having no separate property of his own. Eventually Philoctemon in default of sons adopted an heir, Chaerestratus; and subsequently died, Euctemon still being alive. During the life of Euctemon, Chaerestratus lived on the joint estate, and only at the death of Euctemon was entitled to claim it[1].

Joint Undivided Families so far from being uncommon at Athens were so frequent that creditors had to ascertain at the

[1] These instances seem to me to disprove the assertion made in Meier and Schömann, *der Attische Process*, p. 534 ed. Lipsius, and accepted by Leist, p. 96, (made also by Boeckh *Kl. Schr.*, iv. 145, which I have not been able to consult) that an Athenian father ceased to have *potestas* over his son when the son attained the age of 18. The passage from the *Magna Moralia* i. 33, 16, *ὅταν ἤδη λάβῃ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τάξιν καὶ χωρισθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τότ' ἤδη ἐν ἰσότητι καὶ ὁμοιότητί ἐστι τῷ πατρί*, might support Meier and Schömann's view if it did not contain the very important modifying clause *καὶ χωρισθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*. As it is, the passage clearly implies that a son did not pass out of his father's Hand at the moment and by the mere fact that he attained *τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τάξιν*. It was further necessary that he should *χωρισθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*.

Ar., *N.E.* vii. vii. 2, is, as Lipsius says, inconclusive until it can be shown to be referring to "einem Attischen Beispiele."

decease of a debtor whether his sons had divided the estate or were living on it jointly (Dem. *c. Euerg. et Mnes.* § 34, *πότερα μεμερισμένος εἴη πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἢ κοινὴ ἡ οὐσία εἴη αὐτοῖς*); and joint estates in certain cases formed a special class of exemptions from liturgies (Harpoc. *Κοινωνικοὺς ἂν λέγοι τάχα μὲν τοὺς ἀνέμητον οὐσίαν ἔχοντας ἀδελφούς, ὧν ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐδύνατο λειτουργεῖν, οἱ δὲ κληρονόμοι τῶν ἐκείνου καθ' ἕνα τριηραρχεῖν οὐκ ἐξήρκουν*) and, in cases where a single heir refused to accede to a division of the joint estate it was only by resorting to the law, *εἰς δατητῶν αἵρεσιν* (cf. Hesych. s. v. *δατεῖσθαι* and Gortyna Code v. 40), that his brothers or co-heirs could obtain a division of the property.

In Sparta, as at Athens, both during the life and after the decease of their father, brothers lived on the joint estate. If one brother alone married, his son was accounted the son of them all, and was their joint heir, just as at Athens, as we saw from Dem. *c. Leochar.* 17, the daughter of one brother was considered the daughter of the joint family, and was heiress to the joint estate. That this was a primitive Aryan Custom we may, I think, safely infer, for we find it converted into Hindu law. Vasish*tha*, XVII. 10, says, "If amongst many brothers who are begotten by one father, one have a son, they all have offspring through that son" (cf. Vish*nu*, XV. 42). The Joint Undivided Family persisted in Sparta long after it had disappeared in other parts of Greece, and thus Polybius, misunderstanding the practice, was led to imagine, where brothers lived on the joint estate, and one alone had a wife, that the wife was common to all the brothers[1]. On the authority of this passage in Polybius modern writers on primitive marriage have rashly concluded that polyandry was practised among the Spartans. Doubtless Polybius was confirmed in his error by the fact that amongst the Spartans, as amongst many other Aryan peoples, a husband in default of sons called in his brother or other near kinsman to raise up seed unto him. This practice however has its founda-

[1] Precisely the same mistake, due to the same cause (a misinterpretation of the institution of the joint undivided family), is made by Caesar when he ascribes polyandry to the ancient Britons, *B. G.* v. 14, 'maxime fratres cum fratribus.'

tion not in polyandry, which was unknown to the Aryans, but in the paramount necessity according to Aryan ideas of providing sons to offer the usual *sacra* to the House Spirit.

Before dismissing the subject of the Joint Undivided Family, I must point out that it is erroneous to assume as Leist does, p. 65, that the family must—to be a joint family—have dwelt in a single house[1]. In the Gortyna Code it is expressly provided that on the death of the father "the houses in the town" go to the sons. Therefore the joint estate which was undivided before the decease of the father and might, at the option of his sons, remain undivided, included several houses. In passing I may note that this expression "the houses in the town" at once confirms and is explained by the conclusions already established from the practice of the Norse and Germanic nations. According to this practice, arable and pasture land was the common property of the Maeg or Near Kin. In the town were situated the houses of the kinsmen. To each house was attached certain rights over the arable land and of common appurtenant and common *pur vicinage*. At Gortyna land was held in common, for succession to every kind of property except land is provided for by the Code; the houses were situated in the town and like the cattle and implements used in cultivation were the property of the respective Households.

The corporate character of the Household comes out strongly in the Gortyna Code. A large number of its provisions are directed to the defence of the corporation against both its own members and outsiders, to the definition of the rights of its members, and to the distinction of what belongs to the corporation from what was the acquest of any of its members. By Hindu law the acquests of a brother do not become part of the property of the corporate family, Gaut. XXVIII. 30, Manu IX. 206, Yâgñavalkya II. 138. So too the Gortyna Code allows a son power over his own acquests, VI. 5, and protects them from the corporation, represented by the father, VI. 9 and 32. On the

[1] Doubtless in many cases the family had a single house. If Hesiod singles out adultery with a brother's wife for special denunciation, it was because the joint life of the family gave special facility for this form of adultery, *O. et D.* 329.

other hand the Code protects the corporation's property: a son may not pledge or alienate any thing belonging to the corporate family, VI. 4; the amount of a dowry[1], IV. 50, and of *κόμιστρα*, III. 37—40, is fixed by the Code; more may not be given, and what is given must be given in the presence of three witnesses, VI. 1. Further the Code protects the corporation against strangers: if a stranger marries an heiress, the inheritance reverts to the next of kin, VIII. 52; if an adopted son dies without children, the property again reverts to the kinsmen, XI. 6.

By the Gortyna Code the wife's acquests also are assured to her: she has the option of dividing or not dividing them between her children, IV. 24; if she dies, they go in certain cases to her daughters, IV. 45, as is the case in Hindu law, Gautama XXVIII. 24; if she dies childless, her acquests revert to her own kin, III. 31; in case of divorce, III. 1—15, or of the death of her husband III. 19 the Code guarantees her acquests, but at the same time prohibits her, under penalties, from taking any of the corporate property, and inflicts a double penalty on a stranger who assists her to do so.

In Attic law the corporate character of the family reveals itself in the fact that an inheritance was divided per stirpes, not per capita: nephews for instance took the share which would have fallen to their father, had he been alive; in other words the corporation, not the individual members thereof, inherited, and whether the father was alive or not, whether he left several sons or one only, the amount which the corporation could claim was the same. Again, at Athens as at Gortyna the corporate property was protected from strangers who thought to become possessed of it by wrongfully marrying an heiress. In both states the properties in such cases reverted to the kin (Dem. *pro Phorm.* 954). Further the law at Athens as at Gortyna protected the property of the corporate family against both its members and strangers: a son of Pericles borrowed money from a stranger, and the creditor, so far from being able

[1] At Athens too the father was prohibited, in the interests of the corporation, from giving a dowry larger than custom or law allowed, as we may infer from Plut. *Sol.* 20 *μὴ εἶναι φερνὰς, ἀλλ' ἱμάτια τρία καὶ σκεύη μικροῦ νομίσματος ἄξια, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν ἐπιφέρεσθαι τὴν γαμουμένην.*

to recover his money from the property of the corporation, rendered himself liable to an action for having lent the money, Plut. *Per.* 36. It is to be noted that the son of Pericles was not a minor, he was married; and though he had attained his majority and had taken a wife, he was still a member of the Joint Undivided Family, had no property of his own, and was in the Hand of his father. If this tale of Plutarch's were the only instance of the existence in Greece of the Joint Undivided Family, if we only had Plutarch as an authority to prove that a married son might be in the Hand of his father, and that the law protected the corporate family, we might hesitate. But taken in connection with the evidence already quoted, the story Plutarch tells is a cumulative proof which we may reasonably accept.

The existence of the *patria potestas* in Greece is denied by various German scholars. The apparent instances of the power they would explain as being not the exercise of any right on the part of the father but as the discharge of a duty by the son. This seems to me to be an inversion of the facts, and an inversion due to the neglect of Comparative Law in Germany. If the power of the Hand were peculiar to the Romans, we might with Leist regard the *patria potestas* as a development peculiar to Roman law; but as the power of the Hand was acknowledged by all Aryan peoples, we must regard the difference between the extent of the *patria potestas* in Rome and in Greece as due to a weakening of the original Hand in the latter country, and not to a strengthening of it in Italy. Further, the *obsequium* theory of the Greek father's power does not explain all the facts, for the Greek father exercised some rights which cannot, from the nature of the case, spring from any duty on the part of the son. Finally the Hand of the father, i.e. of the representative of the corporation, whether actually the procreator of the Joint Family or one of several brothers, shows in Greece the distinctive characteristic of the *patria potestas:* the son has no rights as against the Father, *κατὰ πατρὸς μὴ εἶναι δίκην, ἢ τὴν τῆς παρανοίας*, Sop. *Div.* 382.

With the Greeks, as with all other Aryans, the father had the right to decide whether a new-born child should or should

not be allowed to live[1]. This is an example of a right on the part of the father which cannot have sprung from any duty on the part of the son; and the *obsequium* theory breaks down at the threshold. If the father decided to accept the child it came into his Hand[2], and there are traces in Attic law that originally the father continued to exercise the *ius vitae necisque* as long as the child remained in his Hand (cf. Plut. *Sol.* 23, and especially 13 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ παῖδας ἰδίους ἠναγκάζοντο πωλεῖν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ νόμος ἐκώλυε). But from the earliest times it seems to have been a Custom that in grave matters the House-father should act in the presence of the Family Council. The new-born child was accepted or rejected by the father in the presence of this Council. This was the case at Gortyna, III. 50: and probably originally at Athens also, though eventually the Phratry took the place of the Family Council, as at Rome did the Clan Council[3] (Dion. Hal. II. 15). But whereas at Rome

[1] According to Aelian *V.H.* II. 7, at Thebes fathers might in case of extreme poverty only sell their new-born sons or daughters.

[2] The expressions "in the Hand," "to come into the Hand," may be due to the father's taking the child into his hand, and by that act at once acknowledging his paternity and asserting his power. Or possibly—unless the suggestion be thought fanciful—the expression may be derived from the primitive practice of counting degrees of relationship by the fingers. The fingers of both hands just represent all the relations who could according to Aryan notions be "in the Hand" of the House-father. Thus, if the middle finger represents a father, the first and third fingers are his sons; the little finger and thumb their sons. And taking the thumb to represent myself, the fingers in order represent my father, grandfather, uncle and cousin. Taking both hands together, if the middle fingers represent brothers (sons of a father not represented—because not being—in the Hand) and the other fingers their descendants as before, we can count on the two hands together all possible degrees of relationship which could exist between the Near Kin; and can tell at once whether any given relative "comes into the Hand" of the House-father.

The Greeks limited the ἀγχιστεῖς to those who could be counted on a single hand. The Romans included in the Agnates not only father, grandfather, uncle, cousin: they went on to the other hand and counting from the middle finger, included great-uncle, first cousins once removed, and second cousins.

[3] At Gortyna also the Clan Council in several matters took the place of the Family Council, e.g. in witnessing the presents given by a husband to his wife, III. 20, or the amount of a dowry, VI. 1. But whereas at Rome, as in India and elsewhere, the number of the Clan Council was five (see Hearn *Aryan Household*, 129) at Gortyna it was three. For other traces of the Court

the Clan Council seems to have constituted but a slight check on the power of the father, at Athens the Phratry came to exercise such control over him that if he admitted that the child was his child he was compelled to adopt it.

Over his children the Greek father had complete power. He gave his daughters in marriage to whom he would; and provided, as does Menelaus in the Odyssey, his sons with wives. He could disown his son (*ἀποκηρύττειν*) for good cause; and he could give his son into the Hand of some other person (*ἐκποιεῖν*) who wished to adopt a child. The power of the father over his son did not cease, as we have seen, either when the son married or came of age. Whereas the father could compel the son to support him, the son had no legal rights against the father; and generally no member of the Household could set the law in action against the head of the Household[1].

Writers on Attic law have been much exercised on the question what place in the order of hereditary succession the father of the deceased took; for he is not mentioned among the heirs in the law of Solon. Nor is he mentioned in the Gortyna Code. And the reason is plain: he was not one of the heirs. As long as the father lived, the son was in his Hand, lived on the Joint Estate and had no property in it, to bequeath or to leave. If further proof is necessary it may be found in the law itself. The law provides that if the deceased have no brothers but nephews, the nephews "take their father's share." This implies that the nephews could not inherit in their father's lifetime. Generalising this case we arrive at the conclusion we have already reached by another road, viz. that a son could only succeed to the Estate at his father's death—which is why the father could not inherit the Estate from his son.

In conclusion the close resemblance between the Gortyna Code and the law of Solon in the matter of inheritance shows

of Five in Roman customs, see Dion. Hal. II. 75 and Gaius I. 20. The Family Council at Athens seems to have consisted on certain occasions of the whole *γένος*, cf. Ath. VI. 245 who says, at a wedding *τοὺς κεκλημένους μὴ εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα.* "*The* thirty" evidently refers to the *γένος* which consisted theoretically of thirty *γεννῆται.*

[1] Thus in Aesch. *c. Timarch.* 102 Arignotus seems to have had no legal redress against Timarchus, who when he became head of the household declined to support his blind uncle.

us the meaning of the statement of Plutarch (*Lyc.* 4) that Solon borrowed some of his laws from Crete, or of Ephorus (*ap.* Strabo VI. 260) that Zaleucus borrowed some of his laws from Sparta, some from Crete and some from Athens. Some resemblance between these laws there must have been. But that Zaleucus borrowed his laws is only the conjecture of Ephorus. The real reason of the resemblance is that which accounts for the resemblance between the Gortyna Code and the Code of Solon: the laws were but the common Customs of the Greeks—indeed of the Aryans—written out and invested to some extent with the sanction of the state. Hence the resemblance of the laws of Androdamas for the Thracian Chalcidians (Ar. *Pol.* II. viii. 9), and of the laws of Charondas (Diod. XII. 18) to the code of Solon[1]. While in confirmation of the inference that all these codes consisted mainly of Customs, we have the fact that the laws of Epimenides and of Charondas related to the Kin (Ar. *Pol.* I. ii. 6).

[1] And of the Twelve Tables to Greek codes. The theory of imitation is unnecessary in this case also.

F. B. JEVONS.

PAUSAN. VIII 16 § 5.

> Ἑβραίοις δὲ Ἑλένης γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας τάφος ἐστὶν ἐν πόλει Σολύμοις, ἣν ἐς ἔδαφος κατέβαλεν ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς. μεμηχάνηται δὲ ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τὴν θύραν, ὁμοίως παντὶ οὖσαν τῷ τάφῳ λιθίνην, μὴ πρότερον διανοίγεσθαι πρὶν ἂν ἡμέραν τε ἀεὶ καὶ ὥραν τὸ ἔτος ἐπαγάγῃ τὴν αὐτήν· τότε δὲ ὑπὸ μόνου τοῦ μηχανήματος ἀνοιχθεῖσα καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχοῦσα συνεκλείσθη δι' ὀλίγης. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ οὕτω. τὸν δὲ ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνοῖξαι πειρώμενος ἀνοίξαις μὲν οὐκ ἄν, κατάξεις δὲ αὐτὴν πρότερον βιαζόμενος.

H. van Herwerden in an excellent paper of emendations on Pausanias (Mnemosyne, n. s. xv, 1887, 67) says truly 'Mire dictum δι' ὀλίγης pro δι' ὀλίγου et pleonastice post verba οὐ πολὺ ἐπισχοῦσα.' He leaves to others the solution of the riddle: 'Requiri videtur quod significet πάλιν, sed quod lateat non reperio.' Context and the *ductus litterarum* suggest δι' ΕΑΥΤῆς for δι' ΟΛΙΓης[1].

I am tempted to cite three passages in which Herwerden convicts the latest editors of neglecting indisputable corrections of Porson's. If Englishmen, as custodians of the honour of the English school, would expose every instance of such carelessness as it occurs, our current texts would be far purer than they are.

v 14 § 6 (Herwerden p. 62):

> γράφομεν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς Λετριναίοις. Promisso stetit vi 22 § 5, hic vero scripsit γράψομεν, ut correxit iam Porsonus, sed nemo audivit. Alia vero haud pauca in Pausania emendavit criticorum sagacitas et diligentia, neglecta et spreta ab editoribus.

[1] [Prof. v. Herwerden in a post-card accepts this emendation. 'Rem acu tetigisse mihi videris.']

VIII 11 § 2 (p. 67):

Pessime spernitur Porsoni correctio delentis verba *τὸν κριὸν τὸν ἐψόμενον*, vel idcirco non ferenda, quia *τὸν ἐψόμενον* dici nequit pro *τὸν ἑψηθέντα*. Praeterea nihil falsius est quam, quod perhibent, *κριόν* iam per se significare *vetulum arietem*, et verissime Kuhnius correxit *γέροντος*. *παλαιὸν δὲ κατασφάξασα*.

X 32 § 2 (p. 72):

Sine controversia e Porsoni correctione edendum fuerat *καὶ ῥᾴων εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ <ἢ> ἡμιόνοις τε καὶ ἵπποις ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον ἐστὶν ἄνοδος τὸ Κωρύκιον*, ubi aeque manifestum est vitium quam vitii origo. Cur tandem miseros lectores vexant editores sequenda in talibus pessimorum codicum auctoritate scilicet, quae plane nulla est?

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

SEN. *ep.* 19 § 3.

Madvig *advers.* II 468:

ep. 19 § 3 (ubi Seneca Lucilio dicit iam non liberum esse, postquam in tantam hominum notitiam venerit, penitus se in otium abscondere): Ut in extrema mergaris ac penitus recondaris, tamen priora monstrabunt. Non hoc agitur, in quid se mergat, sed quando. Scrib. Ut in *extremo*, h. e. in extrema vitae et studii parte.

No note of time is required, nor is *in extremo* used for 'at last', but rather *ad extremum* or *extremum* or *extremo*. But *mergaris* imperatively requires an addition, corresponding to the *penitus* with *recondaris*. For the constr. cf. Flor. II 30 (= IV 12) § 38 *aquilam* mersam in *latebras baltei*. 'Though you should bury yourself in earth's remotest corner, in the deepest concealment, your past will discover you'.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

OVID *MET.* IV 139—141.

MADVIG *adv.* I 25 inserts in the first chapter of his first book, which is supposed to contain only certain emendations, the following conjecture:

> de Thisbe Pyramum lugente haec leguntur:
>
> et laniata comas amplexaque corpus amatum
> uulnera suppleuit lacrimis fletumque cruore
> miscuit.
>
> Quid sit uulnera supplere lacrimis, nemo dixit dicetue, ut intellegi possit; nam quod Gierigius idem dicit esse atque fletum cruore miscere, ea non enarratio est[1]. Ovidius scripserat subleuit (lauit), hoc est, quod XIII 490 dicitur, lacrimas in uulnera fudit.

A glance at Forcellini s. u. *sublino* will shew that this is a most unfortunate conjecture. The word cannot be used seriously in the sense 'to bathe with tears'. I do not think however that Haupt is right in rendering *suppleuit* 'filled'. It is rather 'made good', 'eked out'; when the streaming wounds began to fail, her weeping supplied the lack of blood; there flowed out a mixture of tears and gore.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

[1] (Madvig's note) Statius, tumidus poëta et omnia ridicule exaggerans, Theb. III 130 uulnera alta lacrimis repleta habet; sed longe aliud esset suppleta, ut lacrimae pro uulneribus essent.

A LOST EDITION OF SOPHOCLES' PHILOCTETES.

The British Museum contains a copy of Turnebus' edition of Sophocles (Paris, 1553) which belonged to Lambinus. At the foot of the title-page is written 'Dionysii Lambini' and below it *Διονυσίου Λαμβίνου*. A note on the fly-leaf mentions that the volume contains MS. notes by Lambinus. These notes, which are copious, are on a single play, the Philoctetes, of which Lambinus would appear to have meditated an edition. He gives (1) conjectures of his own, (2) a number of conjectures by Auratus, to whom we owe the brilliant emendation of 556 *ἀμφὶ σοῦ νέα*, (3) occasional conjectures by Turnebus not known to us from his edition and (4) Latin translations of many passages (especially difficult ones), often giving the explanations of Auratus and Turnebus side by side with his own. In many cases the notes are mutilated, the margin having been cut off by the bookbinder.

Whence did Lambinus obtain these readings of Auratus and Turnebus? Certainly not, so far as we can ascertain, from any printed work of theirs. In his edition of Lucretius Lambinus tells us that, when he was in difficulty as to any passage, he used to consult other scholars and, in particular, his intimate friends, Auratus and Turnebus. "Viros doctos, mihi notos ac familiareis....Galliae nostrae atque adeo totius Europae principes, collegas meos, Adrianum Turnebum et Joannem Auratum retuli: nonnullas meas conjecturas cum eis communicavi: eorum sententias et quasi responsa, quamvis interdum non satis mihi probata, summa fide ipsis auctoribus reddidi[1]." The three

[1] Epistola ad Lectorem, p. xxv. (Ed. 1583).

great scholars appear to have habitually worked together[1] and must have owed much to this intellectual fellowship. Genuine scholars do not dread but rather seek the full daylight of the most open criticism. Moreover, men like Lambinus and Auratus do not live in fear lest their emendation, if communicated, should be stolen by another. It is clear from the notes we have transcribed that Lambinus must have had before him MS. remarks by both his friends on this play of Sophocles. Auratus, many of whose readings are quoted in these notes, impressed his contemporaries, though he published very little work of the kind, as a man of brilliant genius in the way of scholarship[2]. After a somewhat adventurous life, three years of it spent in the ranks as a private soldier, he was elected Professor in the College of Paris, in which both his friends occupied chairs. The notes which we print below compel us to assign to Lambinus and Auratus, but chiefly to Auratus, a number of notable emendations which have been accredited to later scholars.

We quote the text of Turnebus with which, unless otherwise specified, Aldus agrees.

Metrical argument l. 1, *ἐν χρυσῇ*] Lambinus writes in mg. "*χρύσης*, Auratus[3]." Edd.[4]

Phil. l. 22. *ἔχει*] mg. "*ἐκεῖ* fortasse" Lambinus. Assigned to Canter. So Hermann, Schneid. and (in note) Dindorf.

29. *τύπος*] mg. *κτύπος* Lambinus, Edd.

L reads *κτύπος*.

38. *καὶ ταῦτά γ' ἄλλα θάλπεται | ῥάκη* mg. *ἀλέᾳ* Aurat.

42. *προσβαίη*] mg. "*προβαίη*. D. L."

106. After *θρασύ* Lambinus adds mark of interrogation. So Edd.

[1] See for example Lambinus' note on Lucr. vi. 1135. "Cum haec scripsissem in prima editione, non longo post tempore venit in mentem Adriano Turnebo, et Ioan. Aurato, mihique cum una essemus, neque *corruptum*, neque *coruptum* legi posse...sed *cruentum*."

[2] Lambinus, in dedicating to Auratus the 6th Book of his Lucretius, expresses the most enthusiastic admiration of his friend's genius.

[3] Auratus' name is here written in full: also Aurat., Aur. and A.

[4] Edd. appended indicates that the reading appears in the text of two representative editions, that of Professor Campbell (Vol. II. 1881) and that of Dindorf (Oxon. 1860).

126. *δοκῆτ' ἔτι* text and almost all MSS.] *δοκῆτέ τι* A. (i.e. Auratus), Edd. Assigned to Canter.

129. *ἂν*] *ἐν* Lambinus.

148. *πρὸς ἐμὴν ἀεὶ χεῖρα προχωρῶν*] mg. "Aur. *προσορῶν*. sunt enim versus anapaestici."

166. *πτηνοῖς ἰοῖς*] mg. "Aur. *πτηνοίστρ*" (sic. Last letter is indistinct).

189. *ὑπόκειται*] *ὑπακούει* Auratus. See Lambinus's note [1]. This conjecture is assigned to Musgrave.

266. *τῆσδ'*] *τῆς* Auratus, Edd.

δ' ἀνδροφθόρου ἐχίδνης] Aur. *δενδροφθόρου* [*δ'* and *ἀνδρ* underlined in text. Too lively an imagination must here have misled Auratus !]

324. *θυμῷ γένοιτο χεῖρα*] *θυμὸν γένοιτο χειρὶ* Lambinus. So all Edd. since Brunck.

423. *ἐξήρυκε*] Aur. *ἐκκήρυξε*. Lambinus al[iter] *ἐξείρηκε*. [L. has *γρ. κἀξεκήρυξε* a man. antiqua.]

509. *τύχοι*] *τύχη* Aur.

554. *ἀμφί σ' οὕνεκα* Turn. and MSS.] mg. "*ἀμφί σου* (*σε*) *νέα* Aur." (*σοῦ* being struck out and *σε* written above) "ita postea legere censuit (i.e. Auratus). *ἀμφὶ σοῦ νέα* Lamb."

(Only one MS. gives a trace of the correct reading. Γ has *γρ. ἀμφὶσ ὄν ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ σοῦ*. Of course *ἀμφὶς ὄν* is a misreading for *ἀμφὶ σοῦ* [2]. The writer of this gloss thought *ἀμφὶ* with Gen. unusual and explained it by *περὶ σοῦ*.

Is it the rareness of *ἀμφὶ* with Gen. which led Auratus to spoil his own conjecture ? Aldus reads *ἀμφὶ σοῦ "νεκα*.)

571. *ἔσω*] Aur. *ἐγώ*, Edd. Assigned to Canter.

635—6. *ὡς...ὁρίζει*] *ὁρίζῃ* Lamb., Edd. Assigned to Brunck. "*ὡς* nam, sed, Auratus : ut, Lambinus."

639. *ἐπειδὰν πνεῦμα τοὐκ πρῴρας ἀγῇ*] *ἀνῇ*, remissior fuerit, Lambinus. Edd. Assigned to Pierson.

648. *ἔνι*] Aur. *ἔπι*, vel *ἔνι ἐπὶ τῆς νεώς*. (Lambinus adopts the latter view. *ἐπὶ* is reading of London ed., Wakefield and Musgrave. Dindorf and Prof. Campbell rightly retain *ἔνι*.)

[1] Page 119 of this article.

[2] A mistake characteristic of the scribe of Γ who is capable of writing *βὰς ἄνω* for *βασάνῳ* (O. T. 493) and *εἰ πόντος* for *εἰπόντος* (Phil. 1141).

690. *κλύζων*] *κλύων* J. A. (i.e. Joannes Auratus), Edd. Assigned to Canter[1].

694. *βαρυβρῶτ'*] Tur. *βαρυβοόντ'*.

698. *εἴ τις ἐμπέσοι,* | *φορβάδος ἔκ γε γᾶς ἐλεῖν*] mg. Tur. *εἴ τις* et *ἑλών. εἴ τις* s(ubaudi) *αἱμὰς.*

Aur. *εἴ τιν'....φύλλα....ὥστε ἑλεῖν.*

(*ἑλὼν* Turn. So Reiske and Schneidewin. *εἴ τιν'* (i.e. *φύλλα*) *ἐμπέσοι* Auratus. So Reiske, Musgrave and Brunck.)

774. *θάρσει. προνοίας* Turn.] Aur. *θάρσει προνοίας οὕνεκ', οὐ δοθήσεται* Edd.

780. *καὶ εὐσταλὴς*] *κ'* Edd.

782. *μ' ἀτελὴς εὐχή*] *μ' ἀτελῶς εἴχ* [one letter cut off] Lamb. *μὴ μάτην* Turn.

(Both Lamb. and Turn.'s readings imply *εὔχῃ*. The reading *μὴ μάτην εὔχῃ* is assigned to Camerarius.)

791. *κεφαλὴν*] mg. *κεφαλλὴν*, Edd. So Aldus.

794. *Ἀγάμεμνον*] Aur. Ω *'γάμεμνον.*

830. *ἀντέχοις*] Lambinus erases *χ* and writes in mg. "Tur. *λλ.*"

831. *αἴγλαν*] Aur. *ἀχλὺν.* So Reisk. Wakef.

837. *καιρός τοι πάντων γνώμαν ἴσχων*] Lambinus inserts a comma after *πάντων* and adds "coniunge *καιρὸς πάντων.*"

(Musgrave conjectured *καιρός τοι πάντων· γνῶμα δ' ἔχων.*)

934. *προσφωνεῖν* Turn. Aldus] Lambinus deletes *ν.* So the MSS. L. and A. Edd.

952. *σχῆμα*] Aur. habitatio, non probo. Idem emend(at) *ὦ σχῖσμα,* non probo.

992. *τιθείς*] *τίθης* Aur., Edd. Assigned to Porson.

1032. *πῶς θεοῖς εὔξεσθ', ἐμοῦ* | *πλεύσαντος, αἴθειν ἱερά*;] Aur. *ἐξέστ'*. (sic.) Does this mean *ἐξέσται*? Pierson, whom Musgrave and Schneidewin follow, reads *ἔξεστ'*.

1043. *ὡς ζῶ*] *ὃς* Aur. Assigned to Reiske.

1067. *οὐδὲ σοῦ φωνῆς ἔτι* | *γενήσομαι προσφθεγκτὸς*] Auratus apparently conjectured *του*, as we may infer from the following in mg. "Lamb. non compellabor abs te: Aur. aliter. male. nem....(neminis) vox compell(abit) te."

[1] "*κλύων* Γ. Vat. V^4." Campbell.

1099. *εὖτέ γε παρὸν φρονῆσαι | ...εἴλου. εὖτέ*] *εὖ τε* Auratus. Lambinus adds "*εὖτε* pro *ὅτε*: Aur. *εὖ φρονῆσαι*," i.e. he connects *εὖ* with *φρονῆσαι*.

1128. *φίλων* Turnebus, Aldus] *φίλον* Lambinus, Edd. and the MSS.

1140. *δίκαιον*] "*δικαίου* fortasse" Lambinus, who adds "Auratus putat *δίκαιον* superare."

1149. *μ' οὐκέτ'*] Aur. *μηκέτι*.

1329. *ἐντυχεῖν*] *ἂν τυχών* Lambinus. Assigned to Elmsley. *ἂν τυχεῖν* Porson, Dindorf.

1330. *ὡς*] *ἕως* Lambinus. So Scaliger, Valckenaer, Hermann.

1332—3. *πρὶν ἂν τὰ Τροίας πεδί' ἑκὼν αὐτὸς μόλῃς*
καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἐντυχὼν Ἀσκληπιδῶν]
ἂν τυχὼν Lambinus[1].

1360—1. *οἷς γὰρ ἡ γνώμη κακῶν*
μήτηρ γένηται, τἄλλα παιδεύει κακά·
mg. "Aur. *κακή*." Both *κακῶν* and *κακά* are underlined.

1365. *οἳ*] L. *χ'* (standing for *καὶ οἳ*), Aur. *οἵ τε*.

1448. *γνώμῃ ταύτῃ τίθεμαι*] "al. *γνώμην ταύτῃ*." Lambinus in mg. Assigned to Toup and adopted by Dindorf.

1461. *γλύκιόν τε ποτόν*] al. *Λύκιόν*. Lambinus. So all Edd.

In the scanty notes at the end of Canter's Sophocles (ed. 1593) the following readings are attributed to Auratus, viz. 266. "Assentior J. Aurato *τῆς δενδροφθόρου* reponenti." 556. *ἀμφὶ σοῦ νέα*. 652. *εἴ μοὶ* (after Aldus). Canter also mentions, without saying whence they are derived, the following: 126. "Videtur scribendum *δοκῆτέ τι*." 571. "videtur scribendum *ἐγὼ*." 688. "malim *κλύων*." 782. "malim, si divinare licet, *μὴ μάτην εὔχῃ, τέκνον*.' 1365. *οἵτε τὸν*. These form almost the whole of Canter's notes on *Philoctetes*. It is curious that all are found in Lambinus' MS. and all, except 782, are there assigned to Auratus.

Of the explanatory notes the following appear to be the most of interest.

2. *ἄστειπτος*] Lucr. nullius ante trita solo. 13—14. *κἀκχέω*

[1] In order to avoid construing *ἐντυγχάνω* with a Dative.

τὸ πᾶν | σόφισμα. Virgil. omnis Effusus labor. *σόφισμα*] Auratus, entreprise: Ego, artificium, artem, consilium callidum et ingeniosum, finesse. 39. *ῥάκη, βαρείας του νοσηλείας πλέα. τοῦ* Turnebus in text] mg. *του. τινὸς* vel *ἀνδρὸς* vel *νοσ...* 159. *ἀμφίθυρον,* biforem Aur.: bipatentem L. 165. *φύσιν*] *νόμον,* morem, quia consuetudo longa vertitur in naturam; itaque per naturam nomen significat longi temporis consuetudinem. Lamb. 178. *οἷς μὴ μέτριος αἰὼν* qui sunt prorsus inopes rerum ad victum necessariarum, quibus non sunt mediocres facultates ad vitam agendam. 183. *μοῦνος ἀπ' ἄλλων*] separatus ab aliis, vitam agens solivagam et solitariam.

187—190. *ἁ δ' ἀθυρόστομος*
ἀχὼ τηλεφανὴς πικρᾶς
οἰμωγᾶς ὑπόκειται.

ἀθυρόστομος] garrula Aur. Ego ludibunda et iocosa. 189. Aur. vel leg. *πικρὰς οἰμωγ...ὑπόκειται,* excipit, vel *ἠχὼ πικρᾶς οἰμωγᾶς* vel leg. *πικρὰς οἰμωγὰς ὑπα...,* id est respondet. [Plainly this last conjecture was *ὑπακούει.*]

199. *ἐξήκοι χρόνος*] existat, adveniat vel practereat. 408. *ἐς τέλος*] unquam. 470. *ἱκέτης ἱκνοῦμαι*] supplex venio vel supplex supplico Aur. 509. *τύχοι*] *τύχη* Aur. quae nullus meorum amicorum perferat. Tur. subaudit *λέξας,...λέξας τύχῃ.* 552. *τῶν ἴσων*] cum nactus essem pares comites et tuitores. Al. *τῶν δικαίων.* 635. *ὡς*] nam, sed Aur. ut L. *ὁρίζει*] *ὁρίζῃ* L.

691. *ἵν' αὐτὸς ἦν πρόσουρος*] vel expositus ventis vel sibi ipse vicinus. (Is there any authority for the first meaning? Wakefield explains *πρόσουρος* ventis expositus, while Musgrave conjectures, *πρόσαυρος* auris expositus.)

696. *αἱμάδα.* T. profluvium sanguinis: Au. tabem cruentam. 786. *ὦ πούς, οἷά μ' ἐργάσει κακά*] Lambinus writes in mg. *ἐργάζῃ* but afterwards strikes it out, feeling probably that, as Professor Campbell says, "a great evil, perpetually recurring, is 'most in apprehension'." 789. *ἔχετε*] T. habetis, tenetis: Aur. *ἐπέχετε.* 799. *συλλαβὼν*] mg. *βοηθῶν* Turn.: corrip(iens) Aur.

800. *τῷ Λημνίῳ τῷδ' ἀνακαλουμένῳ πυρὶ*
ἔμπρησον·

ἀνακαλουμένῳ] Tur. *ἀνακαλοῦντι.* qui m'appelle. (Schol. *παρακαλοῦντι.* Turnebus' explanation, "the fire calls me," makes Philoctetes in his delirium of pain turn fanciful.—He imagines the glare of the volcano to be lit for a solemn sign to himself.)

861. *παρακείμενος*] affinis L. ...ositus (i.e. expositus) Aur. non probo. *ὁρᾷ* nihil videt. 868. *οἰκούρημα*] Aur. ministerium. L. eodem loco et in insula, in eodem quod non discesserat Pyrrhus et ejus socii. 884. *συμβόλαια*] Aur. *σύμβολα* (the word has been struck out by Lambinus) improbum. Tur. *συνθῆκαι.* 904. *οὐδὲν ἔξω τοῦ φυτεύσαντος*] nihil alienum ab eo qui te procreavit. 928. *ὦ πῦρ σὺ*] non Pyrrhus. 950. *ἔτ' ἐν σαυτῷ γενοῦ*] ad ingenium tuum redi; esto apud te. 1041. *ἀλλὰ...ποτὲ*] saltem: aliquando tamen. 1049. *εἴ μοι παρείκοι*] si mihi commodum sit. Si mihi occasio detur L. aliter A. 1082. *ὡς*] L. ut, quam: Aur. ergo. 1085. *συνοίσῃ*] comes eris.

1093. *εἴθ' αἰθέρος ἄνω*
πτωκάδες ὀξυτόνου διὰ πνεύματος
ἕλωσί μ'.

**πτωκάδες.* Aur. ruinae. (We need not suppose that Auratus conjectured some word different from *πτωκάδες. Ruinae* is merely a new interpretation of the rare word *πτωκάδες,* which he renders as if from the root of *πέπτωκα,* and meaning the same as *πτώματα.*)

1111. *μοι...ὑπέδυ*] fefellere me. 1116. *τάδε*] *κατὰ τάδε* vel appo. *πότμος καὶ τάδε.* 1133. *ὧδε*] hic. 1140. *ἀνδρός τοι τὸ μὲν εὖ δίκαιον εἰπεῖν*] Auratus putat *δίκαιον* superare: fort(asse) *δικαίου.* 1144. *εὐφημοσύνᾳ* Turn.] consilio. 1149. *μ' οὐκέτ'*] Aur. *μηκέτι.* ne amplius.....ad fugam: prope accedite. L. ne co....te (conicite) vos amplius in fugam. 1154. *φοβητὸς*] Aur. terrendus: ego, terribilis. 1167] *ἀδαὴς*] nescit se habere. 1169] *ᾧ ξυνοικεῖ*] is cum quo habitat.

[Is not this passage made plain by putting a comma after *ἔχειν* and taking *ἄχθος* in apposition to *κῆρ, ἀδαὴς* being used in a passive sense applying to the disease, "beyond our knowledge"?

οἰκτρὰ γὰρ (sc. κῆρ ἔστι) βόσκειν, ἀδαὴς δ'
ἔχειν, μυρίον ἄχθος ᾧ ξυνοικεῖ.

"For the disease is a piteous one to support and there is no learning to assuage it, an endless trouble to the man on whom it has settled." Does not ἔχειν mean to 'assuage' or 'check' rather than to 'endure,' which is too near the meaning of βόσκειν? Cf. ὀδύνας ἔχειν Il. 11. 848.)]

1194. ἀλύοντα χειμερίῳ | λύπᾳ] eum qui angatur et afflictetur dolore aestuante. 1202. εὖχος] Aur. volnus. male. 1235. κερτομῶν] Lamb. ut mihi cor uras (?) verbis asperis: Aur. quasi diceret παίζων. non placet. 1259. ἐσωφρόνησας] male Aur. consulto fecisti. 1327. πελασθεὶς] qui accesseris ad. 1364. ἐς τροίαν] ad Graecos qui Troiam obsident. οἵ γέ] alii hoc referunt ad ea quae sequuntur, hoc modo. et iure te eis socium bellum adiunges qui et, &c. 1441. his non paruit Neoptolemus. 1443. ἡ γὰρ εὐσέβεια συνθνήσκει βροτοῖς] comes est mortalibus morientibus et comitatur mortuos. 1446. χρόνιος] longo intervallo conspectus. 1463. δόξης...ἐπιβάντες] nunquam exopinati.

Ronsard included Auratus in his 'Pleiade' of French poets. Is it not, in a limited form, 'imagination' which enables Auratus to make conjectures like ἀμφὶ σοῦ νέα 556, προσορῶν 148 and σχῖσμα 952, even though calm judgment may reject some of these? The commentaries of scholars like Schneidewin and Professor Robinson Ellis show a similar faculty. Thus Schneidewin's interpretations of Pindar and Sophocles show, very notably, genuine poetic feeling, Schneidewin rarely giving a sense *beneath* his author, though often one which is not borne out. To make a trustworthy conjecture, one which does not jar with the context and show 'like a raw touch on a picture ill-restored[1],' it is necessary to enter into the poet's mind, to feel as he felt, to see as he saw. Thus alone can we decide in a corrupt passage what ought to be said, and what on the other hand a poet like Sophocles never could have written. But this gift, certainly akin to the poetic faculty, is seldom united with sufficient scholarship, so that good conjectures are rare enough. For example Auratus's well-known conjecture haedulei (for

[1] Sophocles, ed. by Professor Campbell, Vol. I. p. 107. 2nd Ed.

Haediliae Hor. Od. I. 17), Lambinus' unquestionable pectus (for tempus, Lucr. II. 46), Ellis's silicumque senescere petras[1] (Lucr. V. 312)—all these show a faculty entirely wanting in the average critic who, after first postulating the 'unglaubliche Verdorbenheit' of the Sophoclean MSS.[2], proceeds, in obedience to the precept—'Du sollst vor Handschriften nicht niederfallen,' to manufacture new readings after the most approved methods. The emendation *monitura* (for *moritura*) of the dying Dido, is a fair sample of such work. The language of a great poet is a living thing. Each sentence of Sophocles forms an organic whole and, like a beautiful living body, must be reverently handled. Editors like Mr Blaydes generously offer us the choice of three, four or a dozen emendations, each of different or opposite meaning, on the same passage. Almost as well might we offer a sculptor the choice of a dozen differently fashioned limbs or features from which to complete the same statue. A hard saying indeed, but a noble rule to aim after, is the precept of Ritschl—'There is not more than one right.'

[1] Journal of Philology, Vol. III. p. 267. Might we venture, combining Ellis's conjecture with another by Munro, Aeraque (adopted in his 2nd Edition), to suggest the following?—Aeraque proporro silicemque senescere cernis.

[2] No doubt the MSS. of Sophocles are, in some respects, disappointing. They tantalise us by seeming to lead up to a common point, beyond which they refuse to carry us. Yet all the MSS. have by no means yet been thoroughly sifted. For example, while collating the Oxford MS. Laud. 54, I observed the following remarkable reading. At Ajax 330 the true reading λόγοις seems to have been entirely lost out of the MSS., since all which have been hitherto collated read

φίλων γὰρ οἱ τοιοίδε νικῶνται φίλοι.

Laud. 54 also has φίλοι in the text, but above is added by the gloss hand in red, γρ. λόγοις. The latter reading has been restored by the editors on the sole authority of Stobaeus. From what source did the scribe of Laud. 54 derive this correction which, if derived from another MS., would seem to carry us beyond the point from which the universal corruptions date? Professor Ellis has very conclusively shown (American Journal of Philology, Vol. I. p. 401) that the value of a MS. is not necessarily in proportion to its age. For example, the well-known Datanus of Catullus, written after 1470, ranks "in the first class of Catullian codices." There exist beyond question several 14th century MSS. of Sophocles which do not contain an ordinary 14th century text, but have been copied directly from older MSS. and represent a much earlier text. From later MSS. *of such a kind* valuable readings may yet be gained for the text of Sophocles.

The notes we have printed are interesting if only as showing on what intimate terms the three great scholars worked together. Moreover, students of Greek literature owe just enough to Auratus to wish that they owed more. It is evident that the light which Auratus could flash on a corrupt or difficult place is very different from that which an ordinary scholar holds in his hand. It may be less steady, but it is far brighter and far more suggestive.

JOHN MASSON.

LUCRETIANA.

LUCRETIUS I 356

quod nisi inania sint, qua *possent* corpora quaeque
transire? haud ulla fieri ratione *uideres*.

We should, I think, unquestionably accept Munro's repunctuation. But his change of *possent* to *possint* is by no means so convincing, and indeed is discountenanced by the neighbouring *uideres*. The combination of present in protasis and imperfect in apodosis stands precisely on the same footing as in V 276 'qui nisi retribuat recreetque, omnia iam resoluta forent'; which, however, according to him, is the sole instance of such a sequence in Lucretius. In this latter statement he leaves out of sight another passage where the same construction has been emended away.

In II 1033 sqq.

omnia quae nunc si primum mortalibus *essent*,
ex improuiso si *sint* obiecta repente,
quid magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici
aut minus ante quod auderent fore credere gentes?
nil ut opinor; ita haec species miranda fuisset.

The MS. reading, it is clear, is corrupt; and either *essent* or *sint* must go. Munro elects for keeping *essent* and changes *sint* to *nunc*. Orelli and Lach. keep *sint* and make the much easier alteration *extent*, and I believe they are right. It is well known that the earlier Latin writers, and especially the poets, were not so strict or so consistent as later ones in the use of secondary tenses to express unrealized conditions. In particular a special preference seems to have been extended to *si sint*, *ni sint* from

their metrical convenience; cf. Kühner Lat. Gr. II. § 314. 2. See besides the present passage Catull. 6. 2 Flaui, delicias tuas Catullo *nei sint* inlepidae atque inelegantes, *uelles* dicere nec tacere *posses*, Tib. 1. 8. 22 carmina *ni sint*, ex umero Pelopis non *nituisset* ebur.

I 469, 470

namque aliut Teucris (Munro, codd. terris), aliut
regionibus ipsis
euentum dici poterit quodcumque erit actum.

In the lines 449—482 Lucretius is occupied with showing that neither *coniuncta* 'inseparable properties,' nor *euenta* 'accidents,' exist by themselves. Having explained the difference between the two (449—458) he shows that time (an *euentum*) cannot exist *per se* (459—463). Next he points out that the use of the word *esse*, as in *Tyndaris rapta est, bello subactae sunt Troiugenae gentes*, must not mislead us into thinking that they exist; because 'ea saecla hominum, quorum haec euenta fuerunt, irreuocabilis abstulerit iam praeterita aetas' (464—468). That is his first argument: the *euenta* cannot exist because the subjects have perished. His second argument is that the *euenta* could not have *existed at all* unless both matter and space had existed, which he proves by an example, the 'events' of the Trojan war (471—477). This shows that all events (res gestae) have no separate existence in the sense in which body and space have, but are only accidents of them (ut merito possis *euenta* uocare *corporis atque loci* res in quo quaeque gerantur 482). The lines 469, 470, which only break the argument in their present position, being quite unconnected with what follows and what precedes, will be useful and appropriate as an illustration of what is meant by an *euentum corporis* as *distinct* from an *euentum loci*, a distinction which does not emerge till 481, 482. *Teucris*, as Munro points out, stands for *corporis* and *regionibus* for *loci*. It seems clear then that, unless 469, 470 are a marginal addition, they should be placed after 482.

I 884 consimili ratione herbis quoque saepe decebat
cum lapidi in lapidem terimus, manare cruorem;

et latices dulcis guttas similique sapore
mittere, lanigerae quali *sunt* ubere lactis.

Reading for *latices* in line 886 Bruno's certain conjecture *salices* (the *bitter* [amarae] food of cattle and sheep, cf. Virg. Ecl. 3. 83, 1. 70, Lucr. 2. 361), we come to 887, which is hardly satisfactory as it stands. The MS. evidence is nearly balanced between *quali sunt* B and *qualis sunt* A. Munro, following Lachmann, reads *quali sunt* and translates 'that waters should yield sweet drops in flavour like to the udder of milk in sheep,' an involved construction not justified by the parallel of Prop. 1. 2. 21. I believe that *sunt* is a corruption for DANT; *qualis* is of course the acc. plur. and *lactis* the gen. after it.

II 20 ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca uidemus
esse opus omnino quae demant cumque dolorem.
22 delicias quoque uti multas substernere *possint*
gratius interdum, neque natura ipsa requirit
si non aurea sunt iuuenum simulacra per aedes, etc.

Munro has shown so much acuteness in divining the meaning and restoring the proper punctuation that we cannot help feeling a little surprised that he has left 22 as it stands and takes (in his last edition) *neque* in 27 in the sense of *non*. The argument may be briefly stated thus. 'The wants of nature are few and limited to the removal of pain (21, 22). Though the addition of luxuries may produce greater pleasure, yet (α) on the one hand (*neque*) nature does not miss their absence (24—28), while simple natural delights can supply their place (29—33), nor (β) on the other hand (*nec* 33) are they of any value in curing pain (33—36).'

In the reading of 23 there are two difficulties. First there is no nominative to *possint*, and none can be supplied from the context. The anticipation of one from 24 and following seems out of the question. Secondly, *substernere* is only used of persons, or things personally regarded; and certainly cannot be taken to refer to the 'golden statues etc.,' which are the *deliciae* themselves. Both difficulties disappear with the simple correction POSSIS. "Although you may pillow a man on a multitude of luxuries so as to produce occasionally a greater satisfaction,

yet"—Observe how every word is telling, *multas...possis...interdum*, etc. *substernere* is used in its simple and primary sense of laying or placing something under something else, as in Ter. Ad. 4. 3. 12 'ex ara hinc sume uerbenas tibi atque eas substerne.' Here it is pleasure's bed of roses that is meant; and the grassy couch of v. 29 'prostrati in gramine molli' suggests itself as a natural contrast.

II 98 partim interuallis magnis *confulta* resultant.

As Lachmann's erroneous interpretation 'conferta et conglomerata' still appears to hold the field, I trust I may be allowed to refer to my proofs that *confulta*, the MS. reading, is to be interpreted 'rebound when pressed together', in my note in the Journal of Philology IX p. 64 on Prop. 1. 8. 7 and in the Appendix to my Select Elegies of Propertius.

II 180 nequaquam nobis diuinitus esse creatam
naturam mundi: *tanta* stat praedita culpa.

The words *tanta stat* do not occur in the MSS. They have been introduced into the text by Lach. from V 199 where the verses occur again. There is an obvious objection to them here, that they do not explain the MS. corruption *quamquam*. This objection is almost entirely removed if we read QVANTA (= *quod tanta*), an idiomatic use which requires no illustration.

III 647 et *simul* in pugnae studio quod dedita mens est.

Lachmann, followed by Munro, changed *simul* to *semel*, without reason as it appears to me. Lucretius gives two reasons for the man's unconsciousness of his loss of the limb: (1) there has not been time for the mind to feel it, vv. 645—646; (2) the mind is, at the same time, too much absorbed in fighting to notice it, v. 647. Bockemüller retains *simul* but disarranges the whole passage.

III 941 uitaque *in offensust*.

The MSS. have *in offensost*, which of course cannot stand. Lachmann and Munro follow Lambinus in changing it to *in offensust*, an unexampled meaning of *offensus*. This is the stranger, as *in offensast* the classical phrase lay ready to their

hands, being actually mentioned by Lambinus and illustrated by Munro.

IV 642 id quibus ut fiat causis cognoscere possis.

The same three scholars are again agreed in changing the order to *ut quibus id.* It is difficult to resist this consensus. But the involved order requires no defence after Munro's note on III 843, and the emphatic position of the *id* is as proper as that of *is* in III 177. I may note in passing that the four lines immediately preceding, which Munro connects with their context by reading *extetque ut serpens* for *est itaque ut serpens* in 638, appear to have been left by the poet himself in an unfinished condition.

IV 1152

et quae (sc. uitia) corpori' sunt eius si *quam petis ac uis.*

Munro following Lach. thus reads for the MS. *praepetis* (A etc., *precis* B). But has it been *proved* that *praepetis* cannot stand? It gives the right sense, 'quam *prae aliis* petis': and Festus (s. v. *praepes*) has it in one of the derivations which he quotes for *praepetes aues* 'quod ea quae praepetimus, indicent'. Bockemüller retains *praepetis* but absurdly changes *ac uis* to *ac ui.*

V 1117 sqq.

quod si quis uera uitam ratione gubernet,
diuitiae grandes homini sunt uiuere *parce*
aequo animo; neque enim est umquam penuria parui.

There are some difficulties in these lines which have not been properly realized by the editors. The first is in the latter part of 1119 which means, as Munro rightly translates, 'never is there any lack of a little', although the first and obvious construction is to take *est* and *parui* together 'is worth' or 'costs little'. There is another and more important objection. What Lucretius is insisting on here is the well-known commonplace that the poor and contented are as well off as the wealthiest. But there is nothing said about poverty in the lines. A man who lives *parce* does so voluntarily. *parce uiuere* may be said just as well of the rich as of the poor; and it seems to me that Munro's translation '*a frugal subsistence* joined to a con-

tented mind is for him great riches' is practically an admission that the received text is unsatisfactory. For 'a frugal subsistence' is something different from 'living frugally'. What again is the necessity of adding *aequo animo?* We need not go far for examples of the regular phrase Hor. *Od.* 2. 16, 13 '*uiuitur paruo* bene' etc., Tib. 1. 1. 25 '*contentus uiuere paruo*'. Cic. *Paradox.* 6. 51 is an excellent commentary on the general sense: 'non esse cupidum pecunia est; non esse emacem uectigal est. *contentum* uero suis rebus esse *maximae* sunt *certissimaeque diuitiae*'. If we read PARVO for *parce*, we get a clear idea expressed appropriately, we remove the ambiguity or at least the awkwardness of the construction of *parui* and we restore to *neque enim* its proper function of adding to as well as explaining what has gone before. The wealth in contentment is not only great (maximae Cic.) but lasting (certissimae Cic.) 'He is very rich who can live contentedly on a little. Yes, and he can never want *that* little'.[1]

VI 1022 huc accedit item (quare queat id magis esse
haec quoque res adiumento motuque iuuatur)
quod simul a fronte est anelli rarior aer
factus inanitusque locus magis uacuatus,
continuo fit uti qui post est cumque locatus
aer a tergo quasi prouehat atque propellat.

The sense of this passage is clear. The movement of the iron is assisted by the impulses given to the air behind it when a void is created in front. It is in the precise explanation of the two lines 1022, 1023 that the difficulty lies. Munro's interpretation can only be gathered from his translation: "Moreover" [=huc accedit item...quod] '(to render it more feasible, this matter also is helped on by external aid and motion) as soon as etc.' 'This matter' is undoubtedly the attraction of the iron to the magnet. Then what is the point of saying 'this matter *also*'? What other matter is there before us? Surely the *also* must refer to some contributory cause, so that we must alter a letter and read HOC (for *hec*). *res iuuatur*, it may be added, has its own ap-

[1] It will be noticed that here, as also in II 22, the last letters of a line have been corrupted, as is so frequently the case in Lucretius.

propriateness in an indefinite statement, cf. III 910 'ad somnum si res redit atque quietem'; and *hoc* with *quoque* has its proper reference to what is to come.

VI 1194 (Lucretius is giving the signs of approaching death)

frigida pellis
duraque *inoretiacet rectum* frons tenta tumebat.

This is the reading of B and the Vienna fragment, A has *inhoretiacet rectum*, a further corruption. Nonius (p. 181. 27) has *in ore iacens rictu*. Under the MS. *rectum* and Nonius' *rictu* lay *rictum* (neut.) the correction of Lambinus. *rictus* (or *rictum*) is well illustrated by Munro from Shakespeare, the 2nd part of Henry VI, "See how the pangs of death do make him grin." It means the mouth wide open and the teeth disclosed as in hearty laughter (Hor. Sat. 1. 10. 7 risu diducere rictum). The rest of the sentence must be restored by combining the *inoretiacet* of the MSS. with the *inoreiacens* of Nonius. The archetype must have had *in ore tacet* or TACENS which latter is to be preferred on account of the neighbouring imperfects. The picture which Lucretius desires to call up is the ghastly one of the sight and suggestion of laughter without its sound. The dying man seems to laugh, but you hear nothing. Contrast this with the beautiful picture in Prop. III 29. 13 hic equidem Phoebo uisus mihi pulchrior ipso marmoreus *tacita* carmen *hiare* lyra; the statue is only marble, but it seems to sing 'with parted lips and all but speaking lyre.' We must add that the words of Hippocrates (Munro *ad loc.*) seem to require us to punctuate so that *frigida pellis duraque in ore* may be taken together.

J. P. POSTGATE.

THE *PUGIO FIDEI*[1].

It is very intelligible that Christians, being convinced of the truth of their religion and feeling the happiness of that conviction, should try to bring the heathen within the pale of Christianity. These efforts become even more intelligible if one takes into consideration the distinct and strict injunction of Jesus of Nazareth to his disciples (Matt. xxviii. 19): 'Go and teach all nations.' But if the heathen, who had never seen the light of Christianity, were desirable objects of conversion, what must those be who profess the Mohammedan religion, thousands and thousands of whose forefathers had actually been Christians? (Let one think only of the once flourishing and glorious churches in Africa and elsewhere, which were

[1] The titles of the book in its two editions run respectively thus:

1. Pugio Fidei Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum adversus Mauros, et Judaeos nunc primum in lucem editus...cum Observationibus Domini Josephi de Voisin...Parisiis M.DC.LI.

2. Raymundi Martini Ordinis Praedicatorum Pugio Fidei adversus Mauros et Judaeos, cum observationibus Josephi de Voisin, et Introductione Jo. Benedicti Carpzovi...Lipsiae...cIↃ IↃC LXXXVII.

Carpzov the editor of the 2nd edition secured the services of an eminent artist to represent the author's view given in the Prooemium III. (p. 2): 'Opus tale componam, quod quasi Pugio quidam praedicatoribus Christianae fidei atque cultoribus esse possit in promptu, ad scindendum quandoque Judaeis in sermonibus panem verbi divini; quandoque vero ad eorum impietatem atque perfidiam jugulandam, eorumque contra Christum pertinaciam, et impudentem insaniam perimendam.' Only that the 'Poniard of the Faith' is apparently not represented as cutting the bread of the Divine Word, but as being ready to be plunged by the hand of an unseen man into the heart of a luckless rabbi, engaged in prayer and study, and having on prayer-cloak and phylacteries. A Mohammedan evidently dead, or feigning death, lies on his face at the rabbi's feet. We must confess the missionaries of our day are, if not more sincere, less bloodthirsty than Carpzov and those of his time, who were apparently anxious to convert the Jews *à tout prix*.

ruined, in part at least, by the conquering followers of Mohammed!) Now, although the fathers of the Jews had not been for more than two thousand years idolaters and, of course, were much less renegades from Christianity, the desire on the part of the Christians to convert the Jews must be the more intense since the New Testament exhibits Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah of the Jews in the first instance; a doctrine which the Jews, though silently, most emphatically, reject by their simple continued existence as Jews. We do not wonder, therefore, that certain Christians of high standing, notably the superior clergy, have, at all times, supported such a conversion-movement. For a long time however these efforts were accompanied by war and bloodshed, as regards the heathen and Mohammedans and by oppression and persecution as regards the Jews. In the end these efforts proved, on the whole, unsuccessful. If the Christians could not often conquer the heathen and very rarely the Mohammedans, owing to their material strength, they could still more rarely conquer the Jews in spite of their material weakness, largely compensated as it was by their spiritual strength, their Scriptures and their Rabbinical writings. Those therefore who were bent upon the conversion of the Mohammedans and Jews endeavoured, as they ought to have done originally, to convince the former by their own Qoran and the latter by their own Scriptures, their own Targums, their own Talmuds and their own *Midrashim*. Leaving the Mohammedans out of our discussion this is exactly what was tried in the north of France in the first half, and in the north of Spain in the second half, of the thirteenth century, and later on also[1]. Unfortunately however these efforts, though they were the efflux of sincere religious feelings on the part of the promoters were not so on the part of their agents in this conversion-movement. The Pope of Rome, the King and the Bishops of

[1] In 1413—14 a religious disputation took place at Tortosa between Hieronymus de Sancta Fide (a converted Jew) and some of the most eminent rabbis of the day. It must be confessed that in spite of their learning and their piety, they did not make such a defence as they might and ought to have done. The imposing presence of the Pope (Benedict XIII., although he with his fellow-Popes was eventually rejected), past persecutions and fear for the safety of the community rendered them spellbound.

France, the Confessor of the King of Aragon were, no doubt, sincere; but the two Jewish converts, who were employed by them in France and Aragon respectively and most of those who followed suit were unquestionably forgers and rogues of the deepest dye. In 1240 a certain Nicolaus (the Jewish convert Donin) pretended to be prepared to prove to the Jews the divinity of Jesus and the truth of Christianity. By the influence of the Pope, and the superior clergy of France, he succeeded in bringing about a public disputation with the Rabbis before the king, the queen-mother and other high personages of the realm. When defeated by R. Yechiel of Paris[1], Donin-Nicolaus accused the Talmud of containing blasphemies against Jesus and the mother of God; an accusation which finally (1244) resulted in twenty-four waggon-loads of copies of the Talmud being publicly burnt[2]. A somewhat similar, though less fatal, occurrence took place a little less than twenty years afterwards in the north of Spain. In 1263 Jayme I. of Aragon, prevailed upon by his confessor (of whom more anon) ordered a public disputation to take place between Jewish and Christian doctors on the merits of their respective religions. A Dominican friar, a Catalonian[3] by birth, Fray Pablo by name, a converted Jew, of attainments even more moderate than those of Donin-Nicolaus, was chosen as champion to oppose no less a personage than Rabbenu Mosheh b. Nachman (the famous Nachmanides[4]). Fray Pablo maintained that the Talmud and Midrash testified to the divinity of Jesus. When disgracefully defeated, as was to be expected, he accused the Jews of having in their religious books blasphemous matter against the Founder of Christianity. Defeated in Aragon, he obtained from the king, by the influence of his confessor, a commission to preach Christianity in the synagogues of the Jews in those parts of Provence which belonged to Jayme I.; and the Jews were commanded to deliver to him such books as he might want for that purpose. There we leave Fray Pablo for a while in order to

[1] For more about this great rabbi see Schiller-Szinessy, *Catalogue*, I. pp. 79, 246.

[2] See *Sepher Shibbole Halleqet Hasshalem* (ed. Buber), p. 252.

[3] See Touron, *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'Ordre de Saint Dominique* ...Paris,1743, 4to. p. 484.

[4] See *Encycl. Brit.* Vol. xx. under Ramban.

say a few words about his protector, the king's confessor. This was no less a personage than the sometime General of the Order of Saint Dominic, the collector of the Papal Decretals, the well-known saint of the Roman Church, Raymundus de Peñaforte. Although the miracle of his sailing on his cloak with his stick for a mast from Majorca to Barcelona[1], on which part of his title to saintship rests, may be questioned by heretics, the other and chief part of this title, his cordial hatred of Judaism, if not of the Jews, cannot be disputed. Raymundus de Peñaforte prevailed upon his royal penitent to nominate a commission of *five* (in reality of six, as Fray Pablo was their guide) to search all the Hebrew books in his dominions and to remove all matter objectionable to Christianity from the Jewish writings[2]; a command which they executed with a vast deal of annoyance and loss to the luckless Jews. Four members of this commission, of whom one was our saint and another the Bishop of Barcelona, were only so nominally, as they knew little or nothing of Hebrew; the fifth was Raymundus Martin, the reputed author of the *Pugio Fidei* in its present state[3] and of the *Capistrum Judaeorum* (MS. Bologna). Raymundus Martin[4] was born at Subirats, a small town in Catalonia, between 1225 and 1230. He entered the Order of Saint Dominic between 1243 and 1248. In 1250 he was certainly nominated one of eight friars who should devote themselves to the study of Oriental languages, especially Hebrew and Arabic, for the conversion of the Jews and Moors[5]. Whilst nothing whatever is known of their teacher in Arabic (although there is evidence that Raymundus Martin knew something of that language) and nothing worth speaking of is left of their controversial literature against the Moors[6],

[1] See Touron *ut supra*, p. 44.

[2] See *Ibidem*, p. 492.

[3] See note above, p. 131.

[4] The name of the reputed author of the *Pugio Fidei* was Ramon Martinez and in his convent he was called Raymundus Martin, the name 'Martini' arose no doubt from the wrongly-applied Latin genitive. A similar mistake is continually made on the continent with respect to our Castle or Castell (sometime professor of Arabic) who is called by several writers Castelli etc.

[5] See Quétif (Echard=Eckhard) *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*..... Lut. Paris. 1719, folio p. 396, col. 2.

[6] See *Pugio* pp. 429 (534) which contains an Arabic proverb; 452 (565)

there can be little question that their teacher in Hebrew and Rabbinic was the before-named Fray Pablo, and that besides the *Capistrum Judaeorum* the *Pugio Fidei* is the only piece of literature resulting from the efforts of that *par nobile fratrum*, the Dominicans[1], Fray Pablo and Raymundus Martin, as we shall see later on. Now this *Pugio Fidei* contains, by the side of genuine matter, numerous and most shameless forgeries; a fact observed by others before us, and brought home to the English-reading public by two of the present writer's hearers, Messrs Jennings and Lowe[2] in their *Commentary on the Psalms* (Appendix to Psalm cx.). For this they were taken to task by the late Dr Pusey (*The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah*, Oxford, London, and Leipzig, 1877, 8vo.). Now, Dr Pusey, if he ever read the *Pugio Fidei*, certainly did not closely examine in the original the Hebrew and Rabbinic passages to be found therein. Nor could the late Dr Zunz, who also defends Raymundus Martin (*Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, Berlin, 1832, 8vo. pp. 287—293), have read the *Pugio* even in Latin (and of course much less in Hebrew), as we shall presently show. The others, both in England and abroad, who declare the contents of the *Pugio*

which contains a piece of the *Moreh* of Maimonides; 587 (749, 750) which contains extracts from the Qoran and other Moslem books etc., all in the original Arabic, in Hebrew letters.

[1] It will have been seen from the above account, that all the deadly enemies of the Jews in Aragon were Dominicans; but their hatred was not confined to Aragon. The Jews driven out from England in 1290 also owe their misfortunes to the Dominicans, who were incensed against them on account of Robert de Redingge (also a Dominican) becoming a Jew and marrying a Jewess. In fact what the Jesuits were, and are, to the Protestants, the Dominicans were, and are, to the Jews. Only the Dominicans, being chiefly preachers, however eminent, have always had less influence than the Jesuits, in consequence of their incomparable scholarship, and their being chiefly the instructors of the young.

[2] Messrs Jennings and Lowe are certainly to be blamed. Not because they suppressed the name of him from whom they had obtained this information, since one known to be the pupil of another need not mention his master's name in giving information (see T. Y. Berakhoth II. 1); but they are to be blamed for not giving, in accordance with the *Mishnah* (Eduyyoth I. 3) the *ipsissima verba* of their teacher. Had they done so they would have saved themselves some trouble and annoyance, and the incorrect statement, in their second edition, that Raymundus Martin was a 'sound Hebrew scholar.'

to be genuine deserve no separate consideration, since their assertions rest on a second-hand foundation.

It will be convenient to divide the charges brought by us against the *Pugio Fidei* into several classes. We shall trace some of the forgeries, bringing proof positive that they are such. We will then show that Raymundus Martin, owing to his ignorance of Rabbinic and even of Biblical Hebrew, could not have been himself the inventor of these forgeries, and we shall finally show that their perpetrator was not merely a rogue but a buffoon.

I.

Six proofs of forgeries pure and simple.

Hitherto the proof against the genuineness of the contents of the *Pugio Fidei* has only been of a negative character, viz. that the books from which they are stated to have been drawn could not be found. Now such a proof was justly rejected by Dr Pusey, as indeed it cannot be convincing to any philosophically-trained mind. For, if not hitherto found, these books may yet be found, and if never found they may yet have existed at one time, though now irretrievably lost. But our proofs will be the more convincing since we have succeeded in actually finding the passages referred to up to the point of their falsification; since we have succeeded also in showing that these forgeries, whether consisting in omission or commission, commencing at certain points, betray themselves by their clumsiness, and finally since we have succeeded in producing unquestionable testimony that these deviations from the texts from which they have been taken not merely were not, but *could not have been*, the readings of the originals.

1. *Pugio*, p. 284 (354) v.

This passage (said to have been taken from the *Bereshith Rabbah of R. Mosheh Haddarshan*)[1] consists of two pieces

[1] Through the kindness of Mr S. Buber of Lemberg (who is well-known as an indefatigable and disinterested editor of several pieces of the ancient

copied with slight variations from *Pesiqto Rabbathi* (*Pisqo* XXXIII. אנכי אנכי *in fine*). Its purport is to show that, unlike man, who uses for wounding one means and for healing another, the Lord heals by the very means with which He wounds, even as He pays 'measure for measure' (מדה כנגד מדה) i.e. wounding with the same means with which sin had been committed. As an illustration "virgin" (בתולה) is given with three proofs from Scripture For the *sin*, *Pesiqto Rabbathi* has Joel i. 8, whilst *Pugio* has Ezekiel xxiii. 3[1]; for the *punishment*, both have Lam. v. 11; and for the *consolation*, both have Jer. xxxi. 21. *Pugio* adds to this last verse another (22), applying the word man (גבר) in the name of two Rabbis to King Messiah, etc. But this latter passage *could not* have been in the *Bereshith Rabbah* of R. Mosheh Haddarshan. For, in the first place neither he, nor any other learned Jew, believed that the Messiah was to be born of a virgin; and secondly if one carefully reads this passage fathered on Rab Huna in the name of Rab Iddi (or, as the Majorca Codex adds, and R. Jehoshua b. Levi) one finds that if נקבה (Jer. xxxi. 22) was *the Virgin* and גבר was King Messiah the evidence from Judges v. 8 has not the least force, or even meaning. Nor does the poor

literature of the Jews as *Pesiqotho* etc.) we have before us a copy of the so-called *Bereschit Rabbathi* of Rabbi Mosheh Haddarshan. We can positively assure the reader that the late learned Rabbi S. L. Rapoport in this respect first deceived himself, and then deceived Zunz who in his turn deceived many others in declaring the contents of this MS. to be Rabbi Mosheh Haddarshan's. It is most certainly not the work of Rabbi Mosheh Haddarshan, although it is no doubt an early Midrashic commentary on the book of Genesis. In a general way we must caution the reader against the conjectures into which Rapoport's genius led him, against the notices of Zunz founded on these conjectures, and against the buildings reared by the idle on their idols' foundations. At all events this so-called *Bereschit Rabbathi* does not throw the least light on the *Pugio*; the only piece it has in common with it is on the death of Moses (MS. on XXVII. 17). Jellinek who copied this piece directly from Rapoport's MS. (*Bet Hamidrash*, VI. Vienna, 1877, 8vo. pp. XXII., XXIII.) seems not to know that it is to be found with variations in the *Pugio* 308, 309 (385).

[1] In the interests of truth we must say that the text of the *Pugio Fidei* has a better (and, no doubt, the only correct) reading for the first link of the evidence (Ezekiel xxiii. 3) than *Pesiqto* has (Joel i. 8). It is a matter of surprise that neither Abarbanel (*Yeshu'oth Meshicho*, Part II., Speculation 3, Chapter 3), nor Friedmann, the latest editor of *Pesiqto Rabbathi*, notices this superiority.

translator know what to do with this passage as applied, but is in the greatest perplexity how to render אז לחם שערים for he gives the whole verse thus hesitatingly, 'Eligit Deus nova, tunc debellabit vel tunc debellans portas: vel tunc debellatio, vel expugnatio portarum, vel opinionum, vel turpitudinum, vel immundiciarum.'

2. *Pugio*, p. 317 (397) v.

This passage is found at least twice with slight verbal alterations in Hebrew literature, once in the *Targum* (*Sheni*[1] on Esther i. 1), and once in the so-called *Pireqe de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* (xi. *in fine*). In each case however King Messiah is the ninth and God is the first and last. In the *Pugio Fidei* the words ובמלך הזה העשירי, which are substituted for המלך העשירי, have the effect of identifying King Messiah with God Himself. But such cannot be true when fathered on old Jewish literature. For although both this particular *Targum* and the *Pireqe de-Rabbi Eli'ezer* are by hundreds of years posterior to the rise of Christianity, the Midrash about the '*Ten Kings*' embodied in them is, no doubt, anterior to it; and, unluckily for the forger, was certainly known in the middle of the first century of the Christian era. See 1 Corinthians xv. 28 which runs thus: And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto Him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.

3. *Pugio*, p. 337 (421) xxi. *in medio*; comp. p. 645 [828] vi. *in medio*.

This is a shameful concoction of a piece of the ordinary *Bereshith Rabbah*, cap. xc. of Psalm lxviii. 4, 6, with sundry bits from various Prophets put in, the references to these latter being given. Each of these things is true and correct in its original place; but the connection of the whole, which is to prove that the name of God means King Messiah, the mis-

[1] Abarbanel (*ut supra*, cap. 6) apparently knows nothing of the *Targum* *Sheni* as one of the sources of this quotation.

application of the Rabbinic phrase תלמוד לומר (which is absurdly rendered *docet dicendum*, and framed as an interrogation, although the word מה does not precede it), and the argumentation based on it are such sheer nonsense that an enlightened mind like that of R. Mosheh Haddarshan could not have put them together.

4. *Pugio*, p. 593 *in fine* (759) v.

Few forgeries are so audacious and at the first moment so convincing as this. This passage is to be found, up to the evidence quoted from Scripture, *verbatim* in one of the oldest Midrashim (*Ekhah Rabbathi* on Lam. v. 2). For some time one does not observe that the chief force of the forgery consists in the omission of one word (וְאֵם) and in the giving to the word redeemer (הגואל) a Christian sense whilst, as is well known, the Jews use it in the sense of one who delivers from a material foe or trouble. Moreover the word Redeemer here distinctly refers to Esther, who then had neither father NOR MOTHER. The evidence itself however is worthy of a genuine statement, a genuine passage and a genuine doctrine; for although it refers in the first instance to Esther, if the Jews had had a right to apply the term הגואל to their Messiah, the Christians would have had an equal right to apply it to Jesus of Nazareth, their Messiah.

5. *Pugio*, p. 674 (866) XXXVIII.

We need not say that this passage is not to be found in the *Siphere*, which is said to be, *Pugio* 669 (859), '*valde authenticus apud eos*' (*scil. Judaeos*); and much less is it to be found at p. 121, as Dr Wünsche (*Leiden des Messias*, p. 65) has it; but up to a certain point it certainly is to be found in *Siphro*, XII. § 10 (Ed. Weiss, Wien, 1862, folio, leaf 27[a], col. 1), in *Yalqut*, I. § 479, and in *Rashi* and *Leqach Tob* on Lev. v. 17, where however, whatever the verbal deviations in the before-named works may be, none has 'the merit of the Messiah,' nor the illogical argument in connection with it. The genuine passage in the 2nd and 3rd centuries ran thus:

'Rabbi Yose (the Galilean) says: if thou wishest to know the reward of the pious in the world to come, go and learn (it) from the first Adam who had only been commanded one single *negative* law which he transgressed; see how many deaths were decreed against him and his generations and against the generations of his generations to the end of his generations. Now which measure is greater? Is the measure of goodness greater or the measure of punishment? Surely thou must say the measure of goodness (is greater). Now, if notwithstanding the measure of punishment which is smaller, so many deaths have been decreed against Adam and against his generations and against the generations of his generations to the end of all generations, anybody who abstains from eating of a sacrifice offered with an improper thought, or of one left beyond its proper time, and who fasts on the Day of Atonement, how much more will he obtain merit for himself and his generations and the generations of his generations to the end of all generations?' (Compare Bensly, *The Missing Fragment of...The Fourth Book of Ezra*, Cambridge, 1875, 4to. page 28, note 6.) For more than one reason we abstain from entering into a religious controversy with the late Dr Pusey. Only we must make two exceptions, one is here and the other will come presently. (1) Regarding this passage. Whilst Dr Pusey is perfectly correct from his Christian point of view in saying that the merit of the Messiah is greater than keeping a negative commandment, he is totally wrong from an ancient Jewish point of view, according to which it was held that Adam brought misery upon his descendants by not keeping one single negative commandment, whilst the pious, by keeping ever so many negative commandments bring merit on themselves and on their generations to come. The fact is that the skill of the forger deserted him in this particular passage, and his forgery is absolutely proved by his leaving intact the words שכרן של צדיקים(ו) which have no meaning if, as Dr Pusey rightly says, from his point of view, the merit of the Messiah is higher than the keeping of negative commandments. But the most absurd of all is that King Messiah is not merely introduced in the translation as *suffering* (המתענה) but

also as *fasting* (המתענה), which shows that there originally did stand something of fasting, i.e. *abstaining* from food on the Day of Atonement. (2) The other exception we are obliged to make is, as regards Dr Pusey's appeal to Ben Addereth, by whom he means Rashba (3 *Encycl. Brit.* xx.). Had the *Pugio*, so argues Dr Pusey, contained forgeries of Rabbinic passages, Rashba surely would have pointed them out as such, and that he (Rashba) had seen the *Pugio* Pusey knows apparently from Dr J. Perles's most interesting monograph: *R. Salomo b. Abraham b. Adereth*, Breslau, 1863, 8vo. pp. ל״ד note 2, מ״ב note 1, מ״ז note 1, מ״ט note 1, נ״ב note 1. Now Dr Perles can be scarcely correct in asserting that, in answering a Christian's attacks made on Rabbinic Judaism, Rashba had Raymundus Martin in his eye. Rashba no more mentions the Christian assailant's name than that of the Mohammedan assailant whom he also refutes. But the points mentioned in the before-named five passages were then in everybody's mouth. We are quite sure moreover that Rashba only knew of these attacks by hearsay, for however liberal-minded a rabbi Rashba was for his age, he nevertheless would not have allowed an 'heretical' work, like the *Pugio Fidei*, to be in his house. Rashba must have known of the connection which had existed between Raymundus Martin and Fray Pablo, an אפיקורוס ישראל, a משומד and a מומר (a converted Jew); and this fact alone would have precluded the toleration of the *Pugio Fidei* by him. Had Rashba (who knew neither Arabic nor Latin, but was certainly a most eminent Rabbinic scholar) seen the Hebrew-Rabbinic quotations of the *Pugio* he would have instantly discovered the forgeries contained in them and have rent his garments (comp. 2 Kings xviii. 37; Is. xxxvi. 22) on reading blasphemous matter by a Jew, but would not have answered them (T. B. Synhedrin, leaf 38 *b*): we in our days are satisfied with merely exposing the forger's nefarious transactions.

6. *Pugio*, p. 683 (877) v.

This passage is found verbatim in the ordinary *Bereshith Rabbah*, cap. LVI. (on Genesis xxiii. 4). After the word לפניו,

towards the end, is added *quae est rex Messias sicut dictum est Psalm.* lxxx. 8. *Domine Deus exercituum converte nos: ostende faciem tuam et salvabimur. Hucusque Glossa.* The *Hucusque Glossa* is doubly untrue, for in lieu of the genuine piece a substitution is made. After this could Zunz, if he had read the *Pugio Fidei* either in Latin or in Hebrew, and Pusey, if he had read it in the original, have maintained the genuineness of its contents?

II.

Six proofs of the ignorance of the translator, pure and simple.

1. *Pugio*, p. 317 (396) III.

He translates בנהרדעא (the name of a place in Babylonia) by "in Nahardea," id est "*in flumine conscientiae*"!

2. *Pugio*, p. 332 (416) XV.

He translates the passage (not quite exactly quoted) אמר עולא יש"ו הנוצרי קרוב למלכות הוה (Comp. T. B. Synhedrin, leaf 43 *a*, Amsterdam ed. of 1645), by *Dixit Ula, Jesus Nazarenus propinquus fuit regno, id est familiae regiae.* In reality this is impossible. קרוב למלכות הוה(ד) means because he was held in favour by the government, that is, by Pontius Pilate who represented Caesar; a view fully borne out by the Gospel writers (Matt. xxvii. 19—24; Mark xv. 14; Luke xxiii. 4, 14, 15, 22; John xviii. 38, xix. 4, 6, 12, 14, 22). Unfortunately, a certain *Membre de l'Institut* made a similar mistake in translating this passage[1], and has been the cause of misleading others.

3. *Pugio*, p. 549 (697) XI. *in medio.*

He makes that wonderful and strange discovery that בשורי (Hosea ix. 12) means "*incarnatio mea*," whilst every child acquainted with Hebrew knows that בשורי מהם, however written, means "when I depart from them."

[1] Derenbourg, *Essai*...Paris, 1867, p. 349, note 2.

4. *Pugio*, p. 664 (852) XXI.

Et tu Domine es scutum pro me, gloria mea et exaltans caput meum. Gloria mea eo quod habitare fecisti divinitatem tuam in medio nostri et exaltans caput meum pro eo quod facti sumus rei tibi exaltasti caput (l. *nostrum*) *id est dedisti nobis suspensionem capitis sicut dictum est etc.* The miserable translator did not know that תחת שהיינו מחייבין (מחויבין l.) לך הרמת ראש...נתת לנו תלוי ראש signifies: whilst we had, by our sins against thee, incurred the penalty of decapitation[1], thou grantedst unto us an elevation of the head. It is however scarcely fair on our part to charge Raymundus Martin with ignorance when some Jewish scholars made the same mistake. We will therefore not count this but substitute another number for it, calling it

4 b. *Pugio*, p. 669 (859).

In the text used by him or his teacher the two words כלפי למעלה in the last line but one are out of place. Our ignorant translator of course has no idea that such is the case, and thoughtlessly translates, '*Simile est ei Numer.* 12, *v.* 12. *Qui in egressu suo de utero matris nostrae, et edit dimidiam partem carnis nostrae. Cum in lege scriptum sit, dici potest,* DE DEO *loquitur, sed scriptura mutavit, et posuit, matris suae, et carnem suam. Hucusque Traditio*', thus referring the passage to God, which is impossible!

5. *Pugio*, p. 671 (861) XXVIII. *in medio.*

Here our translator tries his hand a little at Aramaic, showing that he ought to have been not merely silent in two languages (Hebrew and Rabbinic) but also in a third (Aramaic);

[1] This is, no doubt, *not* the *bona fide* Biblical meaning, but a Midrashic explanation. Nevertheless Friedmann (*Pesiqto Rabbathi Pisqo* x. (כי תשא note 89) is not quite correct in the distinction he makes here between the Biblical and the Rabbinic meaning of הרמת ראש (רום in the *Hiph'il*); comp. Ezek. xxi. 31(26), where והרים העטרה is absolutely parallel with הסיר המצנפת and is accordingly rendered both by the *Authorized* and *Revised Versions*.

for he translates the well-known יהא לבוסרן, Isaiah liii. ("he shall be despised") by *propter hoc erit ad bonam Annunciationem*, as if it were לבשרן (a messenger of good tidings).

6. *Pugio*, p. 713 (918) XXIII.

There is a Talmudic passage here, which of course must be taken allegorically, translated in the following singular manner: *Dixit R. Aggaeus: Primi araverunt et seminaverunt et sarculaverunt et messuerunt et arconisaverunt et trituraverunt et ventilaverunt et purgaverunt et moluerunt et apposuerunt et non est nobis os* (פה) *ad edendum.* Now here evidently either the פ stands for a מ, as in both Talmuds, and the word was מה, "nothing whatever to eat," or the ה stands for a ת and it (פת) means "we have no bread to eat;" but in no case can it mean they had *not* a *mouth* to eat, for these rabbis had just been talking with their mouths and thus, on the principle of the Cartesian *Cogito ergo sum*, they must have been conscious of having a mouth. Blasius Ugolini (*Thesaurus*, XVIII. Coll. XCIII. XCIV.) is nearer the truth, for although his Hebrew is also פה he nevertheless translates it by *panis*. A little later on there is another Talmudic passage given, in which the Rabbis in their great humility (comp. Ps. lxxiii. 22) say, *Si primi fuerunt homines; nos sumus asini: et non sicut asinus R. Chaninae; nec sicut asinus R. Menachem* (l. *Pinechas*) *filii Jair etc.*, on which the writer of the *Pugio* makes the following charitable remark: *Asininitatem hanc pastorum, i. e. magistrorum Judaeorum etc.* We leave it to the reader to decide whether the Rabbis of the Talmud or their traducer deserve to be charged with this *asininitas*. After this could Zunz, if he had read the *Pugio Fidei*, have said of Raymundus Martin that he was "*ein tüchtiger Gelehrter*" (*G. V.* p. 288), and Pusey if he had read the original (Introd. *ut supra*) have said: 'there is no doubt of his ability'?

III.

Six proofs of forgeries and ignorance combined.

1. *Pugio*, p. 222 (277) IX.

We are treated to two passages (*Midrash Rabbah* on Gen. xviii. 22 and *Midrash Tehillim* on Ps. xviii. 36) where the *Tiqqune Sopherim* are mentioned, and of course among these is the alleged falsification of Ps. xxii. 17, כארי sicut leo instead of כארו or כרו foderunt. This enumeration of the latter among the *Tiqqune Sopherim* is a clear forgery. We know from Qimchi (*in loco*) who charges the Christians (perhaps referring to the Septuagint) with inventing this reading, that it could not have been in the Hebrew text. Nor could it have been in R. Mosheh Haddarshan, as is apparently implied in *Pugio*, p. 547 (696) XI., where it is given as reported by one R. Rachmon, of whom more anon. For Qimchi lived in the very place where R. Mosheh Haddarshan had lived only one hundred years before; a place where his works, if anywhere, must have been well known. Moreover כרו or כארו no more could signify "piercing" than the Targumic נכתין could signify "piercing" (כרה means "digging, hollowing out," and נכת means "biting"). The reading כארו is indeed to be found in several of the MSS. collated by Kennicott and probably in others besides. But anybody can see that the reading כארו originated naturally in the elongation of the י into a ו, for in the root כרה there certainly is no א. There is, indeed, to be found in the printed editions, and perhaps also in some manuscripts a little earlier than these, a piece of Massoreth Parva, running thus ב׳ קמצין בתרי לישני, which would give colour to כארי meaning something different from "like unto a lion." It ought to be remarked, however, that not only are these last two words not to be found, as far as is known, in a manuscript of high age, but the age of this Masoretic note itself has yet to be ascertained. Moreover, there are actually manuscripts of great age lying before us in which the כארי is not even spelt with a ֵ (קמץ) but with a ַ (פתח). Let us add

that this piece of Massoreth, as it stands in Ginsburg, Massorah. I. p. 106, Rubric 1079, together with the next Rubric, implies *no diversity of meaning at all* and ABSOLUTELY PRECLUDES A DIVERSITY OF SPELLING. As regards the Targumic נכתין we wish to draw the reader's attention to the fact that in this Aramaic word we have a second translation of the Hebrew הקיפוני; a practice frequent in all Targums, e.g. Genesis iii. 21, where עור is rendered "skin," and again "glory" (see Adler, *Nethinah Lagger, in loco*), as if there had stood אור. The real meaning of the phrase *Tiqqune Sopherim* is, of course, entirely unknown to, and absolutely misrepresented by, the author of the *Pugio Fidei*, whoever he was; and not even really learned men Jews or Christians have quite grasped its real signification.

2. *Pugio*, p. 452 (563) I.

Here is a passage which testifies no less to the incapacity than to the audacity of the forger. Can anybody, who is in the least acquainted with Rabbinic literature, believe that any Rabbi would teach so monstrous a piece of nonsense, ay of idolatry, as is here attributed to R. Mosheh Haddarshan, that the Lord should have commanded the angels to worship the first man[1]? Let one only read the genuine *Bereshith Rabbah* (cap. VIII.), where R. Hosha'ya says: At the time when the Holy One (blessed be He!) had created the first man the ministering angels *erred* and wished to say before him (man): 'Holy!' This may be compared to the case of a King and his Stadtholder who were in the same carriage. The people wanted to address the King, 'Domine!' [דומיני] (or recite a hymn [המנון] to him); but they did not know which of the two it was. What did the King do? He pushed his Stadtholder out of the carriage and all thereby knew that this was only a stadtholder. Thus also when the Holy One had created the first man the ministering angels mistook him for God and wanted to recite before him, 'Holy!' What did the Holy One (blessed be He!) do? He threw upon him a deep sleep, and all

[1] This monstrous piece is not in Rabbinic, but in imitation Hebrew; i.e. the ו *conversivum* occurs more than once in it, as וידבר, ותדבר, ויהי. Moreover דבר is used instead of אמר, etc.

knew that this was a mere man. This is what is written in Isaiah ii. 22: Cease ye from man whose breath is in his nostrils; for wherein is he to be accounted of?

3. *Pugio*, p. 520 (657), towards end of Ch. II.

After having treated in the whole of the chapter of the names of God and especially of that of שלום ('Peace') he quotes a passage which he pretends to have read in the prologue to *Ekhah Rabbathi* (where of course it is not to be found). In this passage, which occurs in one shape or another more than once in other Rabbinical writings (*Vayyiqra Rabbah*, IX. &c.), he purposely leaves out in the text the word בשלום and in the translation the corresponding word, in order to show his particular cleverness[1] by explaining it in a bracket as if it was his invention (and in a certain sense an invention it certainly is). All this is done in order to be able to interpolate a saying attributed to so early a teacher as R. Yose Haggalili that the Messiah also is called 'Peace'; an application which not every Rabbi would admit, as the words 'and He called his name, &c. Prince of Peace,' are generally referred by the Rabbis to king Hezekiah. Now it ought to be remarked that whilst R. Yose Haggalili is introduced in the Midrashim as saying that God's name was 'Peace,' it is not reported that he said that Messiah's name also was 'Peace,' although the occasion lay very near, for he speaks in more than one place of Messiah immediately after God. Such a statement that Messiah's name also was Peace is, indeed, distinctly made in *Pereq Hasshalom;* a piece of literature which is, however, apocryphal. For although the sayings to be found therein are not only on the whole true but mostly extracts from the Talmuds and the Midrashim, the saying that Messiah's name also was 'Peace' is anachronistically attributed to R. Yose Haggalili, a pre-Mishnic teacher of the time of Hadrian, who is supposed to make his remarks *à propos* of those of R. Chiyya bar Abba who lived in

[1] How capable he was of translating Rabbinic will be seen from the following example: מקום מטונף is explained to mean 'id est quando persolvit quod natura requirit'!

the times of Diocletian! Moreover, the *Yalqut* apparently knows nothing of this *Pereq Hasshalom,* nor was it found in the genuine *Machzor Vitri,* no doubt now lost, as all Machzors going under that name (including that otherwise precious MS. [Add. 27, 200—1] preserved in the British Museum) are of much later date and contain much later literature. Nor, indeed, was the *Pereq Hasshalom,* seemingly, before the eyes of either the scribe or the owner of the famous Talmud MS. preserved at Munich. It seems to have been compiled late in the XIIIth century either in Provence, by a Jew, or in Aragon, by a converted Jew, where the author of the *Pugio Fidei,* whoever he was, saw it and copied out this sentence, leaving out purposely the words Bar Abba after R. Chiyya, a 2nd century teacher, so as to make the anachronism less glaring. (It is not impossible that he who did the forging part in the *Pugio Fidei* is the author of this whole sentence.) But one might ask, Why did the author of the *Pugio Fidei* quote a passage from a book where it is not to be found when he could have quoted it from a book where it is to be found? To this we give the following answer. In the first place because of the high antiquity and authority of the *Ekhah Rabbathi,* between the composition of which and that of the *Pereq Hasshalom* many centuries elapsed; and secondly because of the craft of the forger who anticipated this very question, and expected that people would acknowledge his quotation as genuine, although it is not to be found in the book which he pretends to quote, seeing that it is to be found in one from which he might have quoted it.

4. *Pugio,* p. 565 (719) VII. *in medio.*

This is not merely a forgery, but a piece of ignorance. The reference is given to T. B. Baba Bathra, and one R. Rachmon is mentioned, who must have lived later than R. Mosheh Haddarshan, seeing that he quotes the latter, comp. p. 548 (695) XI., whilst here he is apparently a Babylonian teacher mentioned in the Talmud. There are other anachronisms in this pretended Talmudic passage, which if it occurred anywhere in Baba Bathra must be at leaf 25 *a.* The fundamental ideas however are to be found more than once in Rabbinic writings.

5. *Pugio,* folio 620 (794) XXIX. *sub finem.*

Here R. Rachmon is introduced as a teacher who lived anterior to the composition of the *Midrash Rabbah.* He is professedly quoted from the smaller (or ordinary) *Bereshith Rabbah* (cap. XLVII. *in fine* on Gen. xvii. 27) where although the first portion of the quotation is to be found no such person is mentioned; but see the next division (IV.).

6. *Pugio,* folio 664 (852) XXI. *in medio.*

Here is a piece of shameless forgery with ignorance combined. In the second quotation (i.e. from the *Tanchuma*) the word ראש is left out (although it is inserted on the margin) and *id est exaltatio capitis* becomes thus *suspensus* or תלוי = *crucifixus!* Now could Zunz and Pusey, if they had read the *Pugio Fidei* in the original, have maintained the genuineness of its contents and the learning of Raymundus Martin?

IV.

Proof of the irreverence of the forger.

Pugio, p. 335 (419) XX.

Here is a passage that professes to be written out of the *Bereshith Rabbah* of R. Mosheh Haddarshan and which, on the whole, is kindred to *Pesiqto Rabbathi Pisqos* XXXVI. (קומי אורי) and XXXVII. (שוש אשיש); but neither here does it occur, nor there could it have occurred that the son of David, Messiah (Χριστός), was irreverently introduced as 'loving the daughters of Israel,' for the very reference given to Cant. iii. 9, 10 proves the direct contrary. The writer who was, or rather pretended to be, a Christian, ought to have had regard to the passage in the New Testament (Luke xxiii. 27), which testifies of the real love the daughters of Jerusalem (i.e. of Israel) bore to him whom he professed to call his master, and runs thus: 'And there followed him a great company of people, *and of women*

which also bewailed and lamented him,' showing that it was rather the daughters of Jerusalem (or Israel) who bore the love (just as it is given in Canticles).

It is clear from the foregoing that the translator of the forged passages in the *Pugio Fidei* could not have been the author of them. For although somewhat clumsily, they are yet too cleverly, done to be the work of the translator. Whilst the author of the *Pugio Fidei* as such is perhaps the translator of these forgeries also the forger himself must be another person. Who then was he? We have not far to seek for him; there can be little doubt that it was Fray Pablo. (1) Smarting under the defeat inflicted on him in 1263 by Nachmanides, Fray Pablo furiously hated his former coreligionists. (2) Fray Pablo, if we may judge from the known to the unknown, was, after his conversion, scarcely what may be called a good Christian. (3) It was Fray Pablo who, travelling in Provence with the commission to preach to the Jews, etc. (see above, p. 135), no doubt obtained among other books the Midrashic commentary on the Five Books of Moses by R. Mosheh Haddarshan (probably identical with the יסודו של רבי משה הדרשן; compare Rashi on Num. vii. 18, etc., and the דברי רבי משה הדרשן; comp. Rashi on Gen. xxxv. 18, etc.). Now the *Yesod* of R. Mosheh Haddarshan, being unlike 'Rashi' an absolutely Midrashic interpretation, Fray Pablo had but little to alter, omitting here and there a word or two, adding here and there a word or two especially at the end of a genuine passage, and occasionally only inserting two or three lines in the middle of a passage. Understanding Rabbinic well, although quite unable to write it, his weak points are chiefly seen not in his omissions or slight additions, but in these insertions. (4) Fray Pablo then, there can scarcely be a doubt, is the sole author of the forgeries pure and simple, and joint author of the forgeries combined with ignorance. He is again the sole author of the various inventions to be found in the book, of which the following is not the least diverting.

It cannot have escaped the attentive reader of this article that a certain R. Rachmon is several times introduced in

the *Pugio Fidei*, now as apparently living in pre-Midrashic times, or in pre-Talmudic times, or in post-Talmudic times, and now as late as the 11th century or even later still. This R. Rachmon is found in the *Pugio Fidei* several other times also (as pp. 534 (676), 620 (794), 660 (847), 665 (854) three times, 671 (862), 679 (872), 682 (877), 729 (928), 741 (955), etc.). But who is this ubiquitous personage with a life as long as that of the Wandering Jew? This R. Rachmon is in one sense an invention of the forger, since he never lived in pre-Midrashic times, or in pre-Talmudic times, and in another sense a reality, since he certainly lived not merely in post-Mishnic and post-Talmudic times and after R. Mosheh Haddarshan, but even as late as the second half of the 13th century. We will put at once an end to the reader's suspense. This enigmatic R. Rachmon is no Rabbi, but is none less than Rahmon, i.e. Ramon or Raimond; in full, Raymundus Martin himself, the supposed author of the *Pugio Fidei* in its totality! What would Zunz and Pusey, if they were here alive now on earth, say to this extraordinary dénouement?

Now having convincingly proved, as we believe, that neither Zunz nor Pusey could have read the *Pugio Fidei* in the original Hebrew, and admitting that the latter may have possibly read it in Latin, we proceed to give unquestionable proofs that the former could not even have read much of the translation with any attention. Zunz published, as is known, in his *Zeitschrift* (Berlin, 1822, 8vo. I. pp. 277—384), a life of Rashi, in which (p. 279) he declaims against such Jews as derive their Hebrew information from Buxtorf, charging the latter with inventing a wrong solution of the י in the word רש"י, that letter signifying יצחקי and not ירחי. In his *Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* etc., which, as is seen from above, came out in 1832 and in which Zunz corrects ever so many of the mistakes made by him in Rashi's life, that mistake ascribing to Buxtorf the invention of ירחי (instead of יצחקי) is certainly left. In 1839, indeed, Zunz had found out that Buxtorf was not the inventor of the before-named wrong solution. He then charged (*Is. Ann.* I. p. 336) Sebastian Münster with being the originator of this error. This mistaken view he held at all

events down to 1875 (see his *Collected Works*, Berlin III. p. 104). But had he read any considerable portion of the text of the *Pugio Fidei*, in the translation, with the slightest attention, he could not have failed to see that the ' in Rashi had been solved as יחי as early as, if not earlier than, the 13th century (see *Pugio*, pp. 252 (315), 264 (329), 283 (353), 303 (378), 309 (386), 311 (389), 321 (401), 326 (407), 329 (411), 336 (420), 343 *bis* (429, 430), 353 (441, 442), 358 (448), 372 (466), 373 (467), 376 (470), 378 (471), 382 (476), 390 (487), 413 (515), 450 (562), 488 (613), 569 (726), 611 (781), etc. Now the so-called foolish fabling and wicked rabbis certainly exhibit a higher sense of justice and morality when they say (*Shemoth Rabbah* cap. XLVI.): "Woe unto people who testify concerning things they have not seen" and (T. B. *Niddah*, leaf 7^{b}): "One must not say to a man who has not seen the New Moon that he should come and testify (to its appearance), but one says to a man who has seen it (Come and testify!)."

S. M. SCHILLER-SZINESSY.

POSTSCRIPT. The above article is substantially identical with "*Raymundus Martini*" originally written for Vol. XX. of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and subsequently withdrawn out of consideration for the learned doctor of Berlin who was then in his ninety-second year. But Dr Zunz, as Dr Pusey, is now with God, where nothing but pure and absolute truth can prevail, and we thought it our duty to give the whole truth. For if one owes some consideration to the living, one certainly owes to the dead nothing but truth (On doit des égards aux vivants, on ne doit aux morts que la vérité).

A ROMAN MS OF THE CULEX.

Among the MSS in the Corsini Library in Rome is one numbered in the old printed catalogue 64 (now 43 F. 5), which, as I hope to show presently, holds a unique position among the MSS of this corrupt poem. It is in parchment, consisting of 84 leaves. The order of its contents is as follows: 1. Franc. Petrarchae Eclogae. 2. Claudianus de Raptu Proserpinae. 3. Prudentii Psychomachia. 4. Epistola Saphos poetisse ad Phaonem amasium suum feliciter. 5. Calpurnii Eclogae. 6. Culex. 7. Aetna 1—6. It was therefore written after the publication of Petrarch's Eclogues, and may belong to the late 14th or early 15th century. The capitals in which the titles or headings of each poem are written are in red; as also the names of the interlocutors in the Eclogues of Petrarch and Calpurnius. In form the MS is a very tall octavo; a large margin of more than an inch is left on the right of the text; a smaller (about ½ inch) on the left. Each page, when written uninterruptedly, has 35 lines. The writing is clear and the pages very clean.

I shall mention at once what gives it a unique place among the MSS of the *Culex*. vv. 366—368 are written in all the earliest MSS (those at Paris, the Cambridge, and Vatican 3252) as follows:

365 Mucius et prudens ardorem corpore passus
Legitime cessit cui fracta (facta *Vat.*) potentia regis
Hic curius clare socius uirtutis et ille
Flaminius deuota dedit qui corpora flamme.

As far as I know, no one has yet been able to explain the meaning of 366. Now the Corsini MS gives it as follows:

Cui cessit lidithime facta potentia regis
i.e. Cui cessit Lydi timefacta potentia regis,

a reading which at once makes all clear. The Lydian King is of course the Etruscan Porsena. I should suppose that there can be no doubt that this is right; and if so, the form of the corruption points to a writing in which *g* and *d* were easily confused.

The following are also passages where our MS perhaps points to the true reading:

65 lapidum nec fulgor in ulla
Cognitus utilitate manet.

Corsini *ulna*. Read *ulnae*, and explain of jewelled bracelets worn on the arm.

87, 88
Ille colit lucos, illi panchaia tura
Floribus agrestes herbe uariantibus adsunt.

Corsini *herbas* and *addunt*. Here it is difficult to decide between the two possibilities opened by Cors.

(1) Floribus agrestes herbae uariantibus addunt,
(2) Floribus agrestes herbas uariantibus adsunt;

but one or other appears to me indubitably right.

92 Quolibet ut requie uictu contentus abundet.

Cors. *requiem*. Read

Quolibet ut requie *in* uictu contentus abundet,

i.e. *ut requie abundet contentus in uictu quolibet*. In this way the awkwardness of the two ablatives *requie uictu* intersecting each other *requie abundet, contentus quolibet uictu* is avoided, and the construction becomes clear.

98—100
Talibus in studiis baculo dum nixus apricas
Pastor agit curas et dum non arte canora
Compacta solidum modulatur harundine carmen.

Cors. *et nondum dum arte canora*. Read therefore *et dum nondum arte canora*, 'and whilst with no tuneful art *as yet*,'

i.e. with a simple music that had not yet reached the dignity of art.

122 et dulci fessas refouebat in umbra.

Cors. *feras*. Read *fetas*, sc. capellas.

177 naturae comparat arma
Ardet mente, furit stridoribus, intonat ore.

Cors. *computat*, which agrees particularly well with the *catalogue raisonné* of the snake's different preparations for attack; his inward fury, his angry hissings, the loud sounds or cries by which he expresses his rage.

185 Qua diducta genas pandebant lumina gemmis.

Cors. *gemmas*. Possibly for *gemmans*, which Schrader conjectured, constructing the word with *pupula* in 186.

262 Aduersas perferre faces *all* the early MSS. Corsini alone has *preferre*, rightly.

311 Ipsa uagis namque Ida potens (patens) feritatis et (ab) Ida
Ida faces altrix trepidis prebebat alumnis.

Cors. *Ipsas uagit*. Probably therefore *Ipsa sudis*. The rest of the v. I have already corrected in the American Journal of Philology. The whole is now clear.

Ipsa sudis namque Ida parens feritatis et ipsa
Ida faces altrix trepidis praebebat alumnis.

It will be observed that here again *d* and *g* have been confused.

332 The epithet of Carybdis in this v. which in some MSS appears as *ranolea*, in others as *metuenda*, in Cors. is *uerida*: but I do not know what to elicit from this.

352 hic modo letum
Copia nunc miseris circumdatur anxia fatis.

So most MSS, *laeta* edd. generally. Cors. has *letam*, i.e. I think *laetans*. The pres. part. has its full and proper force = *quae modo laetabatur*.

357 Cors. gives this v. thus:

Omnis in equoreo fluit atia naufrage luctu.

379, 380 non inmemor audis
Et tamen ut uadis dimittes omnia uentis.

So most MSS. Cors. has *dimitteres*. I explain this as follows. The poet wrote:

Ut tamen audieris, dimittes omnia uentis.

The *er* was transferred from *audieris* to *dimitt es*. To attempt any more explicit statement would be rash: but not only is the meaning thus quite clear, but the mode by which the corruption crept in intelligible.

In the Aetna, v. 1 is given in Cors.

Aetna mihi ruptisque caui fornacibus ignes.

5 is omitted, but at the bottom of the page is written, inclosed in a border, seu te Cinthōs.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

ARISTARCHOS' READING AND INTERPRETATION OF ILIAD N 358—9.

THIS passage stands in our texts as follows:

τοὶ δ' ἔριδος κρατερῆς καὶ ὁμοιίου πολέμοιο
πεῖραρ ἐπαλλάξαντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι τάνυσσαν.

With other unimportant variants La Roche notes for τοὶ δ': οἱ δ' D, τὼ δ' L.

The Didymean Scholia are,

358. τοὶ] οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης. ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ δ' ἔριδος.

359. ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι] διχῶς Ἀρίσταρχος, καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν. ἓν δὲ δι' ἀμφοτέρων τὸ λεγόμενον, ὅτι ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν πόλεμον τῇ ἔριδι συνέδησαν, τὸ πέρας τῆς ἔριδος καὶ πάλιν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου λαβόντες καὶ ἐπαλλάξαντες ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ἄμματα ποιοῦντες, τόδε ἐπὶ τόδε. οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος.

Schol. V. Ἀρίσταρχος...δ' ἔριδος, Ἀριστοφάνης τοί.

It will be observed that the scribe of Schol. V. has ingeniously omitted the critical word which distinguished the reading of Aristarchos from that of Aristophanes. Römer, followed by Ludwich (*Aristarch's Homerische Textkritik*, i. p. 357), inserts οἱ into the lacuna. This, I believe, is demonstrably wrong.

Aristarchos, it will be observed, understood the passage to mean, "They (Zeus and Poseidon) knotted together a rope of strife and a rope of war." But evidently, if Aristarchos meant the pronoun to refer to the two gods, he must have read τώ:

believing as he did the Attic origin of Homer, in support of which he emphasized the use of the dual as common to the Attic and Homeric dialects, he can hardly have failed to admit it in a passage where it is not only inoffensive but actually prevents the ambiguity of a reference to a quite different subject, the Τρῶες and Ἀχαιοί mentioned just above—an ambiguity which profoundly affects the whole interpretation of the passage. Indeed nothing more is needed than the first Scholion quoted to prove that at least he did not read οἱ δ'. Had he done so it is quite impossible that Didymos should have classed him, almost contemptuously, among the anonymous ἄλλοι to whom that reading is ascribed; there is only one other parallel for such an extraordinary course, viz. on O 459, Ζηνόδοτος μάχης, ἄλλοι δὲ μάχην, and that we may safely conclude is corrupt. See Ludwich, i. p. 125. If then he read neither οἱ δέ nor τοὶ δέ, he must have read τώ. This is found in La Roche's L (Vindobonensis quintus, no. 105 in La Roche's *Homerische Textkritik*, p. 476), a MS. which occasionally stands alone in preserving Aristarchean readings; a striking case is found a few lines farther on (399), where L alone has the Aristarchean αὐτὰρ ὃ ἀσθμαίνων (for ὅ γ')[1].

It follows then that the original Scholion of Didymos on 358 must have been οὕτως Ἀρίσταρχος τὼ δ' ἔριδος. Ἀριστοφάνης τοί, ἄλλοι δὲ οἱ δ' ἔριδος. The error is simple enough, depending on the similarity of name—a frequent source of confusion in the Scholia—aided perhaps by the fact that the original note was appended to a text which had τώ; when transferred into A, which has τοί, the οὕτως was no longer applicable. Little stress however can be laid upon the last suggestion, for it is well known that the scribe of A continually copies out the οὕτως of Didymos without noticing whether or no it suits the text before him (Ludwich, i. p. 143). However this may be, the conclusion is equally certain, that Aristarchos wrote τώ, not τοί or οἱ.

It will now be seen that we have two distinct readings from

[1] The "Lipsiensis" is so closely connected with L that we may probably assume the readings of the two to have coincided here also. That L only is quoted is doubtless due to imperfect collation of Lips.

which our text is conflate. One is *τὼ δ' ἔριδος...ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροισι τάνυσσαν*, the other is *τοὶ* (or *οἱ*) *δ' ἔριδος...ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι τάνυσσαν*. In the first *τώ* means Zeus and Poseidon, who stretch the rope of strife over both parties; in the second *τοί* means Trojans and Achaians who strain the rope of war for (or *against*) one another. The metaphor in the first case will be taken from the idea that the gods govern the movements of the battle by invisible cords fastened to the two armies, at which they pull alternately (*ἐπαλλάξαντες*, or was there not very likely a variant *ἐπαλλάξαντε*, of which no mention has come down to us? The hiatus, though legitimate, would probably be fatal to it). For this I may refer to my note on H 102. In the second case the metaphor is from the "tug of war"; the two armies are regarded as fastening themselves together by a rope, and pulling one another backwards and forwards. Of these the first is undoubtedly to be preferred, for in all the other passages where the mention of *πείρατα* in this and similar phrases occurs it is always in connexion with divine interference.

A third explanation is that of Aristarchos, which may be briefly explained, though it is not likely to be accepted; as there remains a doubt as to how he came to take *ἀλλήλοισι* and *ἀμφοτέροισι* as virtually identical in meaning. From the Schol. of Didymos on 359 it would seem that he explained "Zeus and Poseidon knotted together (*ἐπαλλάξαντες*) a rope of strife and a rope of war, and drew them tight *over one another*" (*ἀλλήλοισι*), or "*over both ends*" (*ἀμφοτέροισι*) (*ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ ἄμματα ποιοῦντες, τόδε ἐπὶ τόδε*, as Didymos explains). There is however the Scholion of Aristonikos, on 359, *ἡ διπλῆ, ὅτι παραλληγορεῖ*[1], *δύο πέρατα ὑποτιθέμενος, ἕτερον μὲν ἔριδος, ἕτερον δὲ πολέμου, ἐξαπτόμενα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατευμάτων*. This would indicate that while explaining *ἀλλήλοισι* as above, he took *ἀμφοτέροισι* to mean "over both armies," a far more natural explanation, if not the only possible one. In a question of interpretation we are probably right in preferring Aristonikos to Didymos, when, as here, there is a discrepancy between them.

[1] This word is not given in the last edition of L. and S. It means of course "speaks metaphorically."

It was only after the conclusion of the above enquiry that it occurred to me to refer to the Codex Townleianus in the British Museum; as the Scholia V. are copied from this, there was some chance of finding the missing word giving the reading of Aristarchos. It was with no small gratification that I found the required proof of the correctness of my conjecture. The MS. says quite plainly Ἀρίσταρχος τὼ δ' ἔριδος Ἀριστοφάνης τοί. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Oxford edition of these important Scholia will not be much longer delayed.

WALTER LEAF.

SERVIUS ON AENEID IX. 289.

"Audentior" ut "sapientior", ab appellatione, non a participio futura cum: Terentius..."ignoscentior".

For the corrupt *futura cum*, which has puzzled the editors, I propose to read *figuratum.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

NONIANA QUAEDAM.

Nonius I—III.

[Mss. containing the whole:

F = Florence XLVIII, 1 (I—III) (9th or 10th cent.).
H = Harleian 2719 (9th or 10th cent.).
L = Leyden Voss F 73 (9th or 10th cent.).
P = Paris 7667 (I and II—p. 140) (10th cent.).
V = Wolfenbüttel Gud. 96 (10th cent.).

Extract Mss.:

C = Paris 7666 (10th cent.).
D = Paris 7665 (10th cent.).
M = Montpellier 212 (10th cent.).
O = Oxford Bodleian Canon. Lat. 279 (11th cent.).
X = Leyden Voss 116 (11th cent.).]

II 3 (Afranius 378 R.).

Si possent homines delenimentis capi,
Omnes haberent nunc amatores anus.
Aetas et corpus tenerum et morigeratio,
Haec sunt uenena formosarum mulierum.
Mala aetas nulla delenimenta inuenit.

The Florence Ms. has *in* for *si* in the first line, which tends to support Schoppe's conjecture *ni*. *Si* might easily be due to a correction of *ni* to *nisi* (*ni* with *si* superscribed), but it is difficult to see how *si* can have been corrupted to *in*, though I notice that Schoell writes *si* for the Mss. *in* Plaut. Rud. Prol. 22.

ib. 18 (Novius 37 R.).

Operaeque actor, cantor, cursor, senium sonticum.

opereque F X. *opere quae* H L P V C.
auctor V^1. *actor* F H L P V^2 C X.

It is possible that V^1 preserves a trace of the original reading, which may have run

Óperaeque actor, aúctor, cantor, cúrsor, senium sónticum.

This reading completes the metre, and it may be urged in its defence, (1) that *actor* and *auctor* are constantly found in juxta-position, (2) that Novius seems to have had a peculiar penchant for alliterating pairs of words; *v.* the fragments of Ribbeck passim.

III 2 (Pacuvius 301 R.).

Metus, egestas, maeror, senium exiliumque et senectus.
et gestas C.

For *senectus* Ribbeck reads *desertitas*, a ἅπαξ λεγόμενον. I would suggest *grandaeuitas*, of which *senectus* may well be a gloss, ousting the original word. *Grandaeuitas* is used elsewhere by Pacuvius and occurs twice in the fragments of Attius, *v.* Nonius 116. 12—20.

The line would then run

Métus, egestas, maéror, senium, exíliumque et grandaéuitas.

V 16 (Plaut. Aul. 422 R.).

Ita fustibus sum mollior magis quam ullus cinaedus.

submollior F H L P V^2 C X. *submolior* V^1. *sum mollior* Mss. Plaut.
miser magis quam Plaut. B D. *magis miser quam* F J.
mullus F^1 H L P C X. *ullus* F^3 V with the Mss. of Plaut.
It is very tempting to suggest

Ita fústibus sum móllior quam múllus cinaedus.

mullus cinaedus has a peculiarly Plautine ring, especially coming from the lips of a cook. An etymological connection

between *mullus* and *mollis* may possibly be intended, and the confusion in the Plautine Mss. (due perhaps to *submollior*) seems to point to some doubt about the reading.

VI 16. *Illicere est proprie illaqueare, Naeuius, Lycurgo* (Naev. 29 R.).

alis
Sublimen alios saltus illicite, ubi
Bipedes uolucres lino linquant lumina.

Inlicere L^1 C X M O. *illicere* F H L^2 P V D.
inlaqueare L^1 C X D M O. *illaqueare* F H L^2 P V.
subumem L^1.
aliis saltos F^1.
inlicite C X. *inlicitae* L^1. *illicite* F H V. *illicitae* L^2 P.
ubipedes V^1.
linquant H^2 P V C X. *liquant* F H^1 L.

I would suggest

Inlicire est proprie inlaqueare, Naeuius, Lycurgo,

Sublímen altos sáltus inlicíte, ubi
Bipedés uolantes líno linquant lúmina.

In support of this reading the following considerations may be urged, (1) That Nonius explains the word as meaning *inlaqueare*, (2) That *inlicire* is a strictly natural formation (cf. *inretire*) meaning to surround with threads, nooses or springes, the *linum* of the next line, (3) That it restores both metre and sense in the first of the two lines. Professor Havet regards *alis* and *alios* as a dittography of *altos*, a view with which I entirely agree, and which is strongly supported by the variants of F. The metre of the second line is restored by the easy change of *uolucres* to *uolantes*. The corruption is a very natural one and occurs as early as the capital Mss. of Vergil, e.g. Aen. VI 728 R. gives *uolucrum* for *uolantum*.

ib. 20. *Pellices a graeco uocabulo significantiam sapientes inflexam putant, quasi πάλλαξ, hoc est ut παλλακίς. Quod si hoc non est, uana compositio nominis uideri potest.*

This is Quicherat's reading. The important Mss. variations are

Peliceos, all.

quasi pellex (*sic*) all, except H *mg.*, which has *pallex.*

ut pallacis H^2 L P V C D M O. *ut pallaces* X. *ut pellacis* F H^1.

compositio F H L^1 C.

hominis all.

I would read

Pelices a graeco uocabulo sapientes inflexam putant. Quod si hoc non est uana compositio hominis uideri potest.

Nonius is suggesting two alternative derivations of *pelices* either from the Greek, *hoc est ut παλλακίς*, or from the Latin, *quasi pellex*, i.e. *uana compositio hominis.* For this use of *uana* cf. Non. 417. 1, where *uanum* is glossed by *insidiosum, subdolum. Hoc est ut pallacis* and *quasi pellex* are two marginal glosses which have found their way into the text, *hoc est ut pallacis* referring to the first, *quasi pellex* to the second derivation.

ib. 32 (Attius 382 R.).

Sed mémet caluor. uós istum iussi ócius
Abstráhite.

Ribbeck and Quicherat insert *ut* before *iussi*, but the change is not really necessary, cf. Aen. VII 156, *festinant iussi.*

D M O have *extraite.*

VII 8. *Frigere est...sussilire cum sono uel erigi et exilire.*

exilire H^2 P V. *exitari* F H^1 L C. *excitari* X. *exagitari* D M O.

The various readings of the Mss. seem to point to an original *excitari*, corrupted to *exitari* (F H^1 L C), corrected rightly to *excitari* (X), wrongly to *exilire* (H^2 P V). *Exagitari* in D M O represents *excitari* corrupted to *exatari*, and corrected by the superscription of *ci.*

XII 27 (Caecilius 115 R.).

Suppilatum est aurum atque ornamenta omnia.

So Quicherat and Ribbeck. The Mss. offer the following variations:

subpilatum F H L P^1. *suppilatum* P^2 V.
est eum all.
ormenta F H^1 L.

Does not *subpilatum est eum* represent *subpilat uestem*, corrupted to *subpilatu estem*, and then corrected to *subpilatú est eum?* So 179. 17 for *funestat ueste tonsu* F has *funestatu ê (est) et tonsu.*

The line may well have run

Subpílat uestem, aurum átque ornamenta ómnia.

This reading satisfies the metre, and *aurum* is constantly used by the comic poets in combination with *uestem*, when speaking of a lady's belongings.

XXI 26 (Turp. 104 R.).

Turpilius, Leucadia.
Ei perii! uiden ut osculatur cariem? non illam haec pudent?

So Quicherat. Ribbeck reads *num hilum illa haec pudet.*
The Mss. have *leucadia ciperi* all.
non H^1. *num* F H^2 L P V.
illum illa ec pudet F H L P V^1. *haec pudet* V^2.
I would suggest

Périi! Viden ut ósculatur cáriem? non illum écpudet?

The *ci* before *perii* seems to be nothing more than a dittography of *a*, the *a* of *leucadia* being corrupted to *ci*, and corrected by the superscription of *a*. So again *illum illa* is merely a dittography, *illum* corrected to *illam* or vice versa.

XXV 17. *Silones superciliis prominentibus dicti, significatione manifesta, Varro γνῶθι σεαυτὸν* (207 B). *Nonne non unum scribunt esse grandibus superciliis silonem quadratum quod Silenus hirsutis superciliis fingeretur.*

The last five words though found in all the Mss. are generally, and no doubt rightly, considered to be a gloss. *non unum* again, which can hardly be genuine, has been altered by Professor Buecheler to *hominem*, by Professor Nettleship to *Silenum.*

Professor Nettleship would also read *cilones* and *cilonem* for *silones* and *silonem*, arguing that *silones* would not mean *superciliis prominentibus*. But would *cilones* mean this? If connected with *cilium* it would surely mean not *superciliis prominentibus*, but *ciliis prominentibus*, i.e. with projecting eyelids. It seems however to admit of doubt whether *cilones* is really connected with *cilium*. The following authorities may be cited to determine the meaning of the word: Paul. Diac. 43. 10 *Cilo cui frons est eminentior, ac dextra sinistraque uelut recisa uidetur;* Charis. 102. 1 K. *Cilones quorum capita oblonga et compressa sunt;* Placidus 25. 5 D. *Cilones quorum capita oblonga;* Gloss. Labb. *Cillo* προκέφαλος, μακροκέφαλος, and *Cilones φοξοί*; Caper de orthog. 2242. 20 P. *Cilo est angusto capite cui hoc contigit in partu;* Velius Longus orth. 2234. 19 P. *Cilones homines uocantur angusti capitis et oblongi*, and so Cassiodorus 2287, 33 P.

These citations seem to shew that *cilo* means, not a man with projecting eyebrows, but rather a man with a pointed, sugar-loaf, cut-away head, what is colloquially known as a "grocer's forehead." I cannot help believing that the clue to the meaning of the word is to be found in the explanation *recisa* preserved by Paulus, *cui frons dextra sinistraque uelut* "recisa" *uidetur*, and it is to be noticed that Varro and Ovid give a similar explanation of *ancile*, Varro L. L. VII 89 *Ancilia dicta ab ambecisu*, Ov. Fast. III 377 *Idque ancile uocat quod ab omni parte recisum est.* I would then retain the Mss. *silones* and *silonem;* cf. Plin. XI 37, 158 *cognomina simorum silonum*, Gloss. Labb. *Silo, simus.* The word seems indeed to have a peculiar appropriateness here, as "snubnosedness" is a recognized property of Silenus, cf. Lucr. IV 1169 *Simula silena ac satura est.* The explanation *superciliis prominentibus* seems, as often, to have found its way into the text from the margin, the word being *significatione manifesta* and requiring no further elucidation, cf. Non. 36, 14 *Emungi ex manifesta significatione manat.* If the *significatio* is *manifesta* is it not futile to mention it? For *non unum* I would write *nanum.* The open *a* has been written *u*, as often, and then *nunum* has been corrected to *ñunum* (*non unum*). The quotation will then scan as a line and a half of trochaic tetrameters, and the whole passage will run

Silones dicti significatione manifesta, Varro γνῶθι σεαυτόν.

Nónne nanum scríbunt esse grándibus supérciliis,
Sílonem quadrátum,

a description reminding one closely of the picture given of Labrax, Plaut. Rud. 317 R.

Recaluom ac silonem senem, statutum, uentriosum,
Tortis superciliis, &c.

XXVII 24 (Varro Sat. Men. 432 B).

de lacte ac cera tarentina.

Read *terentina*, the old spelling, of which a trace is preserved in V (*cetera retina* V^1, *cetera rentina* V^2), cf. Macrob. III 18, 13 *Nux terentina dicitur...De qua in libro Fauorini. Quod quidam Tarentinas oues uel nuces dicunt, quae sunt terentinae, a tereno, quod est Sabinorum lingua molle.*

XXVIII 12. *Varro Sesqueulixes. Quo cum ire uellemus, obuius flare. Ubi corpori aerinas compedes impositas uideo.*

This is the reading of H^2 P V. H^1 has *quoque ire.* F^1 L read *sesque ire*, omitting *ulixes quocum.* F^3 has *quocumque ire*, which is clearly right. *conpedes* F H L^1. *inpositas* L^1.

Read (with Buecheler, Varro 473),

Varro, Sesqueulixe; Quocumque ire uellemus, obuius flare. Ubi corpori aerinas conpedes inpositas uideo.

ib. 18. *Coagulum a coagendo, quod est colligendo.*

Varro. Hoc continet coagulum conuiuia.

Read *colligando:* so *uolantes* and *uolentes* are constantly confused.

XXXIV 23 (Plaut. Mil. Glor. 4)

Praestringat oculorum aciem in acie hostibus.

aciem in aciem F H^1 L.

Perhaps the simplest way of restoring the metre would be to substitute *fostibus* for *hostibus*, cf. Paul. 84, 5 *antiqui dicebant*

fostem pro hoste. So Professor Nettleship has suggested *fordeo* for *hordeo,* Plaut. Asin. 706 R.

Demam hercle iam de hordeo tolutim ni badizas.

XLVIII 10. *Varro, ταφῇ Μενίππου. Ut antiqui nostri in domibus latericiis paululum modo lapidibus suffundatis.*

Ut should probably be omitted. The Mss. give

tafe menippu antiqui F^1 H^1. *tantiqui* H^2 L P V. *santiqui* (*sic*) F^3. F^3 *nostri in* rightly, *nostrun* F^1 H^1 L^1, *nostrum* H^2 L^2 P V, *lapiditus* all.

ib. 21. *Parochus: a graeco tractum est nomen, quod uehicula praebeat; ὀχήματα enim graece latine uehicula appellantur. Et est officii genus quod administrantibus paret. Varro, Sesqueulixe; Hic enim omnia erat; idem sacerdos, praetor, parochus; denique idem senatus, idem populi caput.*

The Mss. have the following variations.

Paracos all.
praeeat or *preeat* all.
hoc schemate, sechemate, or *scemate,* all.
erit H^1.
paratos F H^1 L. *paracos* H^2 P V.
populus all.
Kaput (*sic*) F. *kaput* H^1.

Editors are agreed in changing *praeeat* to *praebeat,* but *praeeat* seems clearly right. The explanation given shews that Nonius derives the word not from *παρέχω*, but from *παρὰ ὄχος* (unless the passage from *quod—appellantur* is a marginal gloss); and it is surely more pointed and therefore more Varronian to say, that a man is his own outrider, than that he is his own postmaster.

The *erit* of H^1 is a mere slip, corrected by the same hand. *Caput* is probably nothing but a marginal gloss on *proboscis,* the next lemma but one, which has found its way into the text. In F it is written with a capital and looks like a later addition.

XLIX 6. *Varro sexagesi* (490 B), *Inuenisse se cum dormire*

coepisset tam glaber quam socrates, esse factum ericium e pilis albis cum proboscide.

claber F^1 L.
socratis all.
caluum esse factum ericium all.

The passage occurs again 106, 13. There the Mss. all give *socrates galbam esse factum.*

I would suggest *tam glaber quam socratis calua,* "As smooth as Socrates' bald-pate," which accounts fairly well for the variations of the Mss. and adds greatly to the force of the passage.

LVIII 1. *Agilem, celerem, ab agendo, Sisenna Hist.* III.
Agilem dari facilemque uictoriam neque fossas aut bellum remoratum.

So the Mss. Editors alter to *uallum remoraturum,* but the text will construe as it stands, and surely gives a more vigorous sense. A general addressing his soldiers is supposed to say, "You have before you a victory in the open field (*agilem* and *facilem* are meant to suggest *agendo* and *faciendo*), not siege-works and lingering hostilities."

LIX 5. *Nefarii proprietatem Varro patefacit a farre, quod adoreum est, in quo scelerati uti non debeant; non triticum sed far. Hoc quoque idem adsignificat, quod qui indigni sunt qui uiuant, nefarii uocantur.*

adhorreum L^1. *adhoreum* L^2. *adoreum* F H P V D^2 M O. *adreum* C D^1 X.
quo F H^1 L^2 D^2 M O. *in quo* H^2 L^1 P V C D^1 X.

It is very tempting to retain the *adhorreum* of L, and read *quod adoreum est, id est adhorreum, quo.* The *in* may fairly represent the lost *id,* and Varro may easily have intended to connect the word with *ad horreo* (*quo scelerati uti non debeant*); *non triticum sed far* seems a mere gloss.

LXI 19. *Quod est inter duos sulcos elata terra dicitur porca, quod ea seges frumentum porricit.*

The Mss. of Nonius give *secus,* those of Varro *seges.* For

porricit, the Mss. of Nonius give *porrigit*, those of Varro *porrigit* or *porrigat*. Festus and Paulus 238 and 239 say *Porcas quod porrigant frumentum.*

Seges and *porricit* are both very difficult to explain. Should we not retain *secus* and read *quod ea secus frumentum porrigitur*, "because it stretches side by side with the rows of corn"? (Fest. and Paul. 218 and 219 *quod porcant aquam frumentis nocere.*)

LXII 12. *κᾶλα enim graeci ligna dicunt ut Homerus.*

The reference seems to be to Homer, Hymn Merc. 112,

Πολλὰ δὲ *κάγκανα κᾶλα* κατουδάιῳ ἐνὶ βόθρῳ
Οὖλα λαβὼν ἐπέθηκεν ἐπηετανά.

LXIII 5. *Ennius lib.* XVIII. *gruma derigere dixit degrumare ferrum. Lucilius lib.* III.

Viamque
Degrumabis uti castris mensor facit olim.

derigere H^2 L P. *dirigere* F H^1 V.
degrumari F H L P^2 V. *degrumare* P^1. *degrumauis* F H L V. *grumauis* P. *ut castris* F H L P V.

I would read

gruma derigere dixit degrumari ferrum.
Luc. lib. III. *Viamque*
Degrumatus uti, &c.

retaining the deponent form in each case. All the Mss. but P^1 give *degrumari*, and *degrumatus* is as near as *degrumabis* to the Mss. *degrumauis.*

LXV 7. *Cicero Alcionibus,*
Hunc genuit claris delapsus ab astris,
Praeuius aurorae, solis noctisque satelles.

Read *Lucifer hunc genuit*, &c.

The reference is clearly to Lucifer (Hesper-Phosphor, *solis noctisque satelles*), who was father of Ceyx, the husband of Alcyone.

Cf. Ov. Met. XI 271 *Lucifero genitore satus.*
ib. 346 *Lucifero genitus.*

LXXIII 30. *Atri dies dicuntur quos nunc nefastos uel posteros dicunt.*

For *posteros* Bongars suggested *improsperos*, Quicherat *praeposteros*. *Posteros* is however right. The day following the Kalends, Nones and Ides was an unlucky day, so that *posterus dies* came to mean *dies nefastus*, cf. Macrob. I 16. 24 *Pontifices statuisse postridie omnis Kalendas, Nonas, Idus atros dies habendos*, ib. 23 *post sacrificium die postero celebratum male cessisse conflictum.*

LXXV 21. *Abscondidit pro abscondit.*

So F^1 alone rightly, other Mss. have *abscondit pro abscondidit* or *abscondit pro abscondit.*

LXXVII 15.

Betere, id est ire, Varro...betere iussit.

Pacuuius, vos...betite.

Idem...prohibet betere.

Buecheler (Varro 553), and Ribbeck in the two passages of Pacuvius, read *baetere*, but it may be doubted whether the Mss. here do not rather favour the spelling *bitere*, which is read by all the Mss., including in one instance the Ambrosian, in the two passages where the word occurs in Plautus.

In the lemma here the readings are

betere H^2 L P V. *baetere* F H^1 C D M O.

In the passage from Varro

baetere F^3 L^2 C D M O. *betere* H^2 P V. *bretere* F^1. *baretere* H^1. *baeterat* L^1.

In the first passage from Pacuvius

bibite F H L P^2 V. *bibibite* P^1.

In the second *betere* F H L P V.

In the lemma the weight of authority is rather in favour of *betere*. *Baetere* is supported by F and the extract Mss., but has against it the powerful group H^2 P V supported by L. In the passage from Varro *baetere* is supported by F^3 L and the extract Mss., *betere* again by H^2 P V. The *britere* of F^1 points to *bitere* (*bitere* corrected to *betere*), the *baretere* of H^1 is a misunderstanding of *bretere* in F.

In the first passage from Varro *bibite* points clearly to *bitite*, the *bibibite* of P looking like a recorrection to *bitite*. In the other passage the whole Mss. authority is in favour of *betere*. The general result seems to point to *bitere* corrected to *betere* and *baetere*. It must be remembered that for books I—III H^1 can no longer be regarded as an independent authority.

LXXX 31.

Bellosum, bellicosum, Coelius, Tum bellum suscitare conari contra bellosum genus.

So Quicherat: the Mss. read

Tántum bellum súscitare cónari aduersários
Cóntra bellosúm genus,

and while *Coelius* is supported by F L and the extract Mss., *caecilius* is given by H^2 P V. Editors seem generally agreed that the language is not that of a comedian, and adopt the reading *coelius*. But it is surely singular that a passage from a historian should be in perfect trochaic metre, and it must not be forgotten that, when H^2 P V are opposed to F L, they are right in some seven cases out of nine. On the whole it seems safer to restore the passage to *Caecilius*. The language is no doubt above the level of ordinary comedy, but it is perhaps not incompatible with the recognised *gravitas* of *Caecilius*.

LXXXIII 10. *Lucilius* XXX.

Clauda una est pedibus cariosis mensa liboni

So Quicherat. Lucian Mueller reads

Plauta una est pedibus cariosis mers Libiteinai

or *menstrua libans,*

supposing the reference to be to some old hag of the day. *Pedibus cariosis* however seems to suggest a table, or some similar article of furniture, rather than a human being.

The Mss. readings are as follows:

plauda F L P^2 V. *plaun* P^1.
mensu all.
iabino F^3. *libano* F^1 H^2 L P V.

Clauda may be right, but the *plaun* of P^1 seems to point to an original *plauda*, i.e. *plauda* corrected to *planda* or *plancla*, (*cl* and *d* being for all practical purposes interchangeable). *Plancla* would be a diminutive of *planca* a plank or board, a word which is not found in extant Latin literature earlier than Palladius. It was however in use in old Latin as we learn from Paul. 231. 3 *Plancae tabulae planae.*

Starting from *mensu iabino* the reading of F^3, which is regularly to be preferred when it stands alone, *mensula* suggests itself at once. *Bino* seems to represent the name of some proverbial or notorious pauper, the *Irus temporum.* I would suggest *mani*, *m* and *b* being frequently interchanged; cf. Persius VI 56 *praesto est mihi Manius heres.* So in explaining the origin of the proverb *multi Mani Ariciae*, Festus *s. v.* says, *Sinnius Capito ait turpes et deformes significari.*

The line would then run

Plancla (clauda?) una est pedibus cariosis mensula Mani.

LXXXIV 4. *Conspicillum unde conspicere possis, Plautus Medico.*

In conspicillo obseruabam pallium adseruabam.

So Quicherat. The Mss. give *conspicilium* without exception, and *conspicilio*, except L^1, which has *conspilio.* The majority of Mss. have *in conspicilio adseruabam pallium obseruabam*, F^1 L omit *adseruabam pallium*, O reads *Plautus obseruabam medico in consp.* &c. These Mss. varieties seem to suggest that in the original Ms. *obseruabam* was omitted, and then restored from the margin, ousting *adseruabam pallium* in F^1 L, and being inserted in the wrong place in O. Perhaps the simplest way of restoring metre and sense may be

Hínc in conspicíllo obseruabam ádseruabam pállium.

ib. 6. *Colustra lac nouum in mammis, Luc. lib.* VIII.
Hiberam insulam fomento omnicolore colustra.

Columnum F^3. *Columnam* L^1. *Colustra lumnam* cet.

lacconere giumere mammis F^3. *lacchonere iunmi mammis* cet.

Bera F^3. *Beram* L^1. *Hiberam* cet.
insuam V^1.
Colustra F^3. *colustra* $F^1 H^2 L P V$.

The extract Mss. omit *columnum* altogether, and give simply *Colustra Laberius.*

I have previously argued that we have here a combination of two glosses, and this view is strongly corroborated by the evidence of F^3 and the extract Mss. *Columnum* should probably be read with F^3. It may be an old genitive plural either from *columen* or *columnum*, and Nonius could hardly quote *columnam* as *honeste* or *noue dictum. Lacconere gium* looks like *lacunar regium*, a gloss introduced from the margin and, like many of the explanations in this book, not to be attributed to Nonius. The rest of the line seems very uncertain, but conjectures should start from *bera*, the reading of F^3, not from *hibera* or *hiberam*, which looks like an obvious correction.

XCIX 24. *Desabulare perfodere*, &c.

Desubulare F H L P V, all the extract Mss. have *desuberare.*

Is *desuberare* a further corruption of *desubulare*, or is it not rather the relic of a lost lemma, containing, like the one following and the two immediately preceding, a quotation from the Satires of Varro? *Desuberare* would mean "to remove the bark," to abrade, just as *discobinare* immediately preceding means "to take off the sawdust," to graze. This suits the explanation *perfodere*, and is exactly parallel to our English slang-phrase "to bark your shins."

C 4. *Et alio loco idem* (*Varro*) (588 B).

Quid mihi somnus si dormitio tollitur.
Quo mihi somnos. Buecheler.

Quo mihi somno F H L P V with the extract Mss., except C, which alone reads *somnos.*

Will not *somno* stand, on the authority of Verg. Aen. IV 99,

quo nunc certamine tanto?

and Hor. Ep. I 5. 12,

Quo mihi fortuna si non conceditur uti?

which latter is precisely similar in form to the present passage.

It may be noticed that the Mss. of Horace vary between *quid* and *quo, fortuna* and *fortunas.*

CVII 4. *Varro Bimarco* (47 B.).

Ipsum propter uix liberti semiatrati exequiantur.

So Buecheler with the Mss. *Vix liberti* however seems somewhat suspicious. Should we not read *uix sex liberti* (VIXVILIBERTI)? The change is a slight one, and adds much to the picture.

ib. 28. *Laberius in Centonario.* (Lab. 24 R.)

Quare tam arduum
Ascendas? an concupisti eugium scindere.

The simplest way of restoring the metre seems to be

Quare tam árduum
Áscendas? an cóncupiuisti eúgium mi scíndere,

or *eúgium rescíndere.*

CXII 6. (Pomp. 176 R.).

Verum illi ualent qui luctantur leonibus.

Ribbeck *ui luctantur cum.*
I would prefer

Vérum illi [*ualidé*] *ualent qui lúctantur leónibus.*

The phrase *ualide ualere* occurs Plaut. Pers. 426, and the double alliteration seems to add to the vigour of the line.

CXVIII 15. (Pomp. 145 R.).

gaudet si cui quid boni.

sicui F^3 alone, rightly. *sicut* F^1 H L P V with extract Mss. *quid* extract Mss. rightly. *qui* F H L P V.

CXIX 3. *Deum* H^1 is a mere copyist's blunder, F has *deam* with the other Mss.

CXXI 12. *Hostire est conprimere, recedere, dictum ab hostia.*
Hostire, offendere, cedere.
conprimere, cedere F^3 alone.

I feel no doubt that we should read here

Hostire est conprimere, caedere, &c.
Hostire, offendere, &c.

Caedere by dittography of *re* has become *recedere, caedere* has then been suggested in the margin, and the correction has found its way into the wrong place of the text. F^3 has it in the right place in the first line, but has not deleted it in the second.

CXXVI 31 (Laberius 65 R.).

Aequum animum indigna iniquat contumelia.

So Ribbeck. The Mss. have
indignat F^3 L D M X. *indignant* F^1 C. *indignanti* H^2 P V.
I would suggest

Aéquum animum indignátione iníquat contumélia.

CXXVII 17 (Caecilius 136 R.).

Libera essem iamdiu
Habuissem ingenio si sto amatores mihi.

iamdiu siston abutores mihi F^1 L (*cet. om.*).
iamdiu siston habuissem ingenio F^3.
iamdiu habuissem ingenio si ston H^2 P V.

Read

Si istóc habuissem ingénio amatorés mihi.

The *n* of *siston* probably represents the *h* of *habuissem*, which the reading of F^1 L (*abutores* i.e. *abuissem amatores*) shews to have disappeared from the original Ms.

CXXIX 25 (Ennius 327 R.).

inimicitiam atque amicitiam in frontem promptam gero.

in fronte F^3. *in frontem* cet.

CXXXVIII 6. *Mercatis pro mercatibus, Sall. Hist. V. Ceteri negotia sequebantur familiaria legatorum aut tribunorum et pars sua, commeatibus mercatis.*

mercatibus H^2 V. *mercantibus* cet.

Is *mercatis* used in a passive sense, the explanation being altogether wrong, or should we accept the explanation *mercantibus* and read *commeantibus mercatis?*

CL 17. *Et eo plectuntur poetae quam suo uitio saepius Ductabilitate nimia uestra aut perperitudine.*

Quicherat alters *ductabilitate* to *ducti uilitate*, but *ductabilitate* is surely right.

Dúctabilitate ánimi nimia uéstra aut perperitúdine

restores the metre and gives excellent sense.

CLIII 31. *Fateor, sed cur propter te pigrem haec aut huius dubitem parcere capiti.*

pateor F L. *proferre* F^3. *proterre* H^2. *propterre* F^1 L.

proferre seems clearly right. In all the Mss., more especially L, *t* is a constant corruption of *f*, and in one instance at least L reads *scaptis* for *scafis*. The line may either be scanned as it stands as an anapaestic octonarius, or may be read as a trochaic tetrameter by transposing *pigrem* and *haec* with Ribbeck.

Fáteor: sed cur próferre haec pigrem aút huius dubitem párcere Cápiti.

CLIV 3. *Prouidere, mouere, ecferre.*

V^1 has *prouedere*, which tells somewhat in favour of my suggestion *progredere*.

ib. 5. *Puellascere, ecfeminari uel euirescere, Varro Bais. Quod non solum innubae fiunt communis, sed etiam ueteres puellascunt, et multi pueri puellascunt.*

ueteres puellascunt is read by all the Mss. Buecheler (frag. 44) reads *repuellascunt*. I would prefer *puerascunt*. We have a gradual declension. The *innubae* become *communes*, the *ueteres, pueri*, the *pueri, puellae*.

ib. 14 (Pomponius 168 R.).

Quidam apud forum praesente testibus mihi uendidit.

So Ribbeck. The Mss. have *quidem* for *quidam*. Should we read *Quine*, *n* and *d* being often interchanged?

CLVI 25. *Varro Synephebo* (514 B.). *Verere ne manu non mittat cum tot romae mendicari honestos audissemus. Dare possis mittet quod si non mittet fugies si me audies. Cum tempus reuocat ea praecox est fuga.*

All the Mss. give *cum toctro medicarios.*

Buecheler reads *cum tot romae uicarios honestissimos dare possis, mittet,* &c. which gives excellent sense but is rather wide of the Mss. I would suggest *mendicarier.*

It may be noticed that CXXXVII. 22, H^2 V alone have *mendicarier, mendicaries* F L P C. *mendicares* D. *mendicaes* M. The change from *mendicaries* to *mendicarios* is a very easy one.

CLVII 22 *Varro* (324 B.). *itaque si plures dies inter medici discessum et aduentum pollinctoris interfuerunt.*

F^3 alone *medici. medicis* L^1. *medicos* F^1 H^2 L^2 V.

medici seems to have been corrupted to *medicos* through the influence of the neighbouring *inter,* though it is possible as Prof. Havet suggests that *medicos* represents *medicor:* i.e. *medicorum.*

CLXIII 3. *Pingue positum pro imperito et inepto, Cicero Acad.* IIII. *Quod ipsi Antiocho pingue uidetur et sibi ipsum contrarium.*

So Quicherat. For *imperito* the Mss. have *inpedito* or *inpedimento.*

Inpedito is surely preferable.

CLXXI 24 (Varro 1 B.).

Ita sublimis speribus
Iactato uolitantis altos nitens trudito.

The Mss. read *iactato nominatuo* (*nominatiuo* V^1) *uolitantis,* for which Buecheler suggests

iactato homines at uolitantis,

it seems however perhaps more probable that Quicherat is right in regarding *nominatiuo* as a marginal note on *sublimis.* Has not *animos* fallen out after the *antis* of *uolitantis?* The passage will then run

Íta sublimis spéribus
Iáctato uolitántis animos áltos nitens trúdito,

altos being proleptic after *trudito.* The idea recalls Pindar, Pythian Ode VIII 89—91

μεγάλας
ἐξ ἐλπίδος πέταται
ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις.

CLXXII 6 (Attius 176 R.).

Quorum crudelitatem nunquam ulla explet satias sanguinis.

The excellent authority F^3 has *cruditatem* (*crudelitatem* with the *el* dotted out), making a trochaic tetrameter, and this is surely right, as there seems a special appropriateness in the combination of *cruditatem* and *satias.*

CLXXIV 34 (Afranius 177 R.).

Vide ut puellam curent, conforment iube.

Inde ut Ribbeck. The Mss. give
uide ad F L. *uide at* H^2 V.
Is not the simplest correction

Videánt puellam cúrent, conformént iube,

i.e. tell them to see that they have the bride ready.

CLXXVIII 18 (Pomponius 23 R.).

Clandestino tacitus taxim perspectaui per cauum.

The excellent F^3 alone has *cauum* (*cautum* with the *t* dotted out) all the rest *cautum.*

ib. 22 (Pomp. 179 R.).
Iam istam caluam colafis comminuissem testatim tibi.
So F^3. F^1 L V omit *caluam.* Is not the unusual rhythm purposely introduced, like the alliteration, to add to the energy and distinctness of the words?

CLXXIX 17 (Attius 86 R.).
Sed quaenam haec est mulier funesta ueste tonsu lugubri.
funesta V^1 alone. *funeste* V^2. *funestat* cet.

CLXXXVII 8. *demptionem uel decerptionem.*
decerptionem F^3 rightly. *decreptionem* cet.

CXCII 3 (Att. 322 R.).

Cum Scamandriam undam salso sanctam obtexi sanguine.

So Quicherat and Ribbeck (the Mss. have *obtexus*), but surely *obtexi* is a singular word to use of dyeing a river with blood. Should we read *obtinxi* from *obtinguo?* The word does

not seem to be found elsewhere, but *obfuco* and similar compounds are frequent. *Obtinxi* is even nearer to the Mss. than *obtexi* as the lost *n* may be represented by the *u* of *obtexus*.

ib. 33 (Pac. 397 R.).

Postquam calamitas plures annos aruas caluitur.

I would read *conplures* (*c̃plures*) for the sake of the alliteration.

CCII 28. *Praeterea Tuscis resoluta crine capillus.*

For *Tuscis* the Mss. have *tusis*, which is no doubt a corruption of *fusis*. We should read apparently

Praeterea fusus resoluta crine capillus.

CCIII 30 (Pac. 382 R.).

Voce suppressa, mutato fronte, uultu turbido.

For *mutato* the Mss. have *innato* or *innata*. Many emendations have been offered, but no one seems to have suggested *minato*, which makes excellent sense, and requires the slightest possible alteration of the Mss.

CCVII 5. *Transgressus fluuiam quae secundum Herculaneum ad mare pertinebat.*

pertinebat F^3 H V. *perfinebat* F^1 L.

Is *perfinebat* a corruption of *pertinebat*, or was the original reading *perfluebat*, corrupted to *perfinebat*, and corrected to *pertinebat*? *Perfluebat* seems the exact word required, on the other hand *pertinebat* is rather nearer to the Mss.

CCXV 13. *Varro ὄνος λύρας* (368 B.). *Et id dicunt suam Briseidem producere, quae eius neruia tractare solebat.*

So Buecheler. F^3 alone gives *neruia* and *tractare*, other Mss. have *neruias* and *traciare*.

CCXVI 8 (Varro 549 B.).

Nec multinummus piscis ex salo captus.

Nec multunummus Buecheler. F^3 alone has *multinummus* (*multumnummus* with one stroke of the *u*, and the *m*, dotted out). Other Mss. *multum nummus*.

CCXX 9. *Infriasse seni papauerem.*

The Mss. have *infrias sene* here, Charis. 83. 26 K simply *infriasse.* We should surely read *infriassere papauerem.*

CCXXI 25 (Afranius 115 R.).

Pulcre· hoc incendi rogum.
Ardet, tenetur: hoc sepulcro sepeliet.

sepeliet F L. *sepelicet* H^2. *saepe licet* V.

The *rogum* in question seems to be that of a person *qui perituru̇s est amore.* I would suggest, adopting the reading of H^2 V, which is regularly to be preferred to that of F L,

Ardét, tenetur: hóc sepulcro sépelietur: ílicet.

taking the whole line in a metaphorical sense. The copyist's eye might easily pass from *eḷi* to *ili.*

CCXXIX 12. *Turdi masculini sunt generis ut plerumque lectum est. Feminini Varro, Quinquatribus. Tu medicum te audes dicere cum in eborato lecto ac purpureo peristromo cubare uideas aegrotum et eius prius aluum quam τύλην subducere malis.*

So Buecheler, Varro 447.

pleni F^3. *pledi* F^1 H^2 L V.

conta F L. *contra* H^2 V.

caudes audes F H L V.

cum in F^3. *cum i* F^1 H^2 L V.

purpureo peristoro F^3 H^2 V. *purpureo peristo* F^1 L.

prius album all.

quam typen all.

It seems clear that a passage, probably from Varro, containing an example of *turda, feminino,* has dropped out, together with another pair of masculine and feminine words, the feminine of which is represented by *typen* in the example. The clue to this passage seems to be given by Martial II. 16. The Zoilus of the day is shamming ill in order to shew off the magnificence of his bed-furniture. Varro is supposed to say to his medical attendant, "What! you call yourself a doctor, and fail to see that you must remove his love of display, the cause of his disease, before you can deal with his (pretended) consti-

pation, which is only the effect." Remove the cause and the effect will disappear with it.

Starting as usual from F^2, I would suggest [*Typhus masculino. Typhe*] *feminino, Varro, Quinquatribus, Tu* κλινικόν *te audes dicere, cum in eborato lecto ac purpureo peristromo cubare uideas aegrotum, et eius prius aluum quam typhen subducere malis.*

Isid. XVII 9, 101 has *Typhus herba quae se ab aqua inflat, unde etiam ambitiosorum et sibi placentium hominum tumor typhus appellatur.* τύφη in Greek is the name of a plant used for stuffing, but I do not know that it is ever used in a metaphorical sense. *Contra* seems an obvious conjecture for *conta*, and *caudes audes* simply a dittography of *audes*. *Te audes* has been corrupted to *taudes* and *caudes*, and the duplicate reading is due to a correction superscribed: Κλινι corresponds fairly well to *Pleni*, though it is possible that the vocative of a proper name (*Plini?*) has been combined into one word with κλινικόν.

CCXXX 25 (Attius 348 R.).

Iphidamantem neci
Dare, turbat uulgum, euitat moeros dissicit.

difidamantem F H. *diffidam antem* L V.
ne cidere turbat uulgum ambigua accius euitat all.

The words *ambigua accius* are clearly introduced from the previous example. Is it not also practically certain that *ne cidere* (*neci dare?*) is a gloss on *euitat?* Omitting these words the line will run

Ífidamantem euítat, uulgum túrbat, moeros díssicit.

CCXXXI 19. *Sall. Hist. lib. I: Et mox Fufidius, aduenienscum legionibus, postquam tantas spiras, haud facilem pugnantibus uadum &c.*

Editors seem generally to alter *tantas spiras*, but the passage is quite good Latin as it stands. We know from Festus 330 s.v. that *Spira* was used in old Latin of a troop of men,

Ennius quidem hominum multitudinem ita appellat cum ait, Spiras legionibus nexunt.

J. H. ONIONS.

NOTES ON PROPERTIUS.

As the first Editor of Propertius with an English commentary, I may be allowed, perhaps, the privilege of making, after a long interval of years, a few further remarks, partly bearing on Mr Housman's "Emendationes Propertianae" in the last number of the Journal, but mainly as supplementary to his many ingenious and plausible corrections of a difficult and corrupt text.

I have no intention of criticising Mr Housman at length; but I shall venture to express a doubt whether, among many shrewd and thoughtful suggestions, he has not proposed to disturb some of the received readings without sufficient cause. Not to go beyond the first elegy, i. 1, 19—24, on which six verses he has written eight pages of notes (p. 25—33), I am by no means convinced of the soundness of his alterations. The editions give

> At vos, deductae quibus est fallacia lunae,
> Et labor in magicis sacra piare focis.

I should not myself accept here either *pellacia* for *fallacia*, or *fata piare* for *sacra piare*. Still less, in the following lines, can I approve the proposed reading,

> Tunc ego crediderim et manes et sidera vobis
> Posse Cytinaeis ducere carminibus.

Here the received reading is

> Tunc ego crediderim vobis, et sidera et amnes
> Posse, &c.

"*Then* would I put faith in you, (when you boast) that you can make both the stars and the rivers go which way you will," i.e.

the stars fall from the sky and the rivers go backwards from their sources. I see no objection to *ducere* in the sense of "making them follow your will." But I have a serious objection to Mr Housman's emended verse, which, as it appears to me, would mean, or ought naturally to mean, "Then would I entrust both ghosts and stars to you."

In any other sense, *vobis* is surely out of place. My objection to *pellacia* is, that it means "allurement," and that "coaxing the moon to come down from the sky" is not the correct description of the irresistible power of magic spells. I think *fallacia* practically means "trick," "cunning art," "exercise of secret power." I should not be too hard on a poet who is writing under the constraint of metre. Again, *pellacia* is a word barely in use.

As for *piare*, which is a favourite word with Propertius, I cannot doubt that it represents *ἁγίζειν*, to consecrate on the altar offerings to Hecate.

In 33 of the same elegy, where *in me* seems the ablative, "in my case," it would be an improvement to read *leges exercet amaras*, for *noctes*, albeit Ovid (I think) has *noctis amarior umbra est*. Mr Housman reads *me non nostra*, &c. I suppose *nostra* is the Venus of both the lovers.

In the next elegy, I should award the highest praise to his *fulgore anquirere* (I should prefer *acquirere*) *amantes*, for *vulgo conquirere* (*aquirere*). Mr Housman should have pointed out, in his own favour, that *cultu* and *falso candore* preceding mean the very same thing, viz. personal adornment and "sham beauty."

Here (i. 2, 13) I will introduce a suggestion of my own. For

Litora nativis persuadent picta lapillis,

I would read *persqualent*, "are all rough with coloured pebbles." The compound does not occur; but *squalent* is evidently the word wanted. The emphasis is on *nativis*, pebbles produced on the spot, not imported like the Indian gems.

The most serious difficulty I feel is the acceptance, on *any* grounds of probability, of Mr Housman's wholesale system of

transposition. This is, indeed, *periculosae plenum opus aleae,* a method to be followed with the greatest caution and judgment. It is conceivable that a poet, in the *furor scribendi,* may add here and there a couplet that reverts to a former sentiment, and which might have been more aptly placed in some other position. But it is inconceivable that any transcriber, finding the true and logical sequence of verses or paragraphs in his copy, ABCD, should perversely and illogically write in quite a different order BDCA.

Only one just possible theory occurs to me to account for such violent disarrangements having come down to us. The writings of Propertius *may* have been collected and edited at first from "scrappy" documents, in which added or interpolated lines, or some "scripta in tergo," were copied into wrong places. But how a couplet, say, in Bk. iii or iv, can be carried back to some elegy in Bk. i, with anything like a reasonable probability, this, I confess, I cannot see.

Dismissing Mr Housman with the assurance that I have studied his valuable paper (transpositions and all) with the greatest care, I will add a few suggestions of my own.

In i. 15, 29,

multa prius vasto labentur flumina ponto,

the context requires *orta,* "rivers shall have their source in and flow *from* the sea instead of *towards* it,"—*ἄνω ποταμῶν πηγαί.* If *orta* were wrongly read or wrongly written *ulta,* it would certainly pass into *multa.* Mr Palmer reads *alta,* which is an *epitheton otiosum;* and *muta* does not seem probable. Compare iii. 19, 6, Fluminaque ad fontis sint reditura caput.

In i. 16, 9,

nec possum infamis dominae defendere *noctes,*

where Mr Housman proposes *voces,* I suggest *noxas,* "the insults brought on me by a disreputable woman." To this word *has inter* refers just below, i.e. "one of these insults is to be called *crudelis,*" &c. *Has inter* (*noctes*) certainly has no meaning.

I cannot help singing a paean of *εὕρηκα* on the perplexing distich of the same elegy, 23—4;

Me mediae noctes (noctis H.), me sidera prona iacentem,
Frigidaque Eoo *me dolat* aura gelu.

Read, *verberat aura*,—which, as it seems to me, the context absolutely requires,—and (perhaps) *me madidae noctes*. A transcriber, mistaking the quantity of *eoo*, and reading *frigida eoo me | verberat*, as in Virg. Georg. i. 288, *terras irrorat eous*, may have led the next copyist to seek a synonym of *verberat* in Horace's *fuste dolat* (Sat. i. 5, 23). A good Latinist would say, "me pater, me frater iniustaque premit noverca," or "iniusta me premit noverca," but *not* "me pater, me frater, iniustaque me premit noverca."

The passage in i. 19, 16—20, is exceedingly difficult:—

et Tellus hoc ita iusta sinat.
Quamvis te longae remorentur fata senectae,
Cara tamen lacrimis ossa futura meis.
Quae tu viva mea possis sentire favilla!
Tum mihi non ullo mors sit amara loco.

Here I propose, "*at* Tellus *haec ita* iusta sinat," i.e. *sinat fieri*, where *iusta*, as in iii. 7, 9, are "funeral obsequies." The Earth, as a power influencing both lives and deaths, is asked to allow Cynthia to survive even the aged poet, and to be sufficiently strong and able to throw incense, to mark her affection, on his funeral pile. Compare ii. 13, 29,

Osculaque in gelidis pones suprema labellis,
Cum dabitur Syrio munere plenus onyx.

Here therefore I would place a comma at *sinat*, and regard the true syntax to be *sinat—futura esse*. Then *me* remorentur, and *lacrimis tuis*, and *suffire* for *sentire*. In iv. 8, 84, the poet uses this verb meaning "to fumigate with incense," θειοῦσθαι (Eur. Hel. 866), and Virgil (Georg. iv. 241) has *suffire thymo*. The meaning of the passage thus amended is as follows:—"May earth grant that my obsequies may be conducted thus" (the poet seems writing in a serious illness); "that however long I may live, my bones may yet be bedewed by your tears, and that you, yet in life (and aged as you may be), may be able to throw incense on my pyre."

In ii. 9, 7, for "*visura* et quamvis nunquam speraret Ulixen," where Mr Housman writes, "perhaps *visurum*," I read *venturum*, which the context seems absolutely to require.

In the beautiful verses on the loves of Aurora and Tithonus (ii. 18, 12), for *lavit equos* the epithet *sedula* suggests *pavit*, i.e. gave them a bait before starting on the journey. Possibly the *doctus poeta* had in view Il. viii. 564,

> ἵπποι δὲ κρῖ λευκὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὀλύρας,
> ἑσταότες παρ' ὄχεσφιν ἐύθρονον ἠῶ μίμνον.

In ii. 11, 6, for *humano corde volare deum*, which is unintelligible, I suggest *humana sorte*, "in a human shape," "under the conditions of humanity." For *deum* is contrasted; Cupid, though a god, carries bow and arrow like a human creature. So in ii. 20, 12, a company of little Cupids (*turba minuta*) exclaim, *intereat, qui nos non putat esse deos.*

In ii. 28, 27, we should read *quo sis* (for *sit*) *formosa periclo.* Cynthia, conversing in the under world with the heroines whom Jupiter has loved, will tell Semele the risk she (Cynthia) has incurred by her beauty; and Semele, says the poet, from her own experience, will believe it.

In ii. 31, 9,

> Hic *equidem* Phoebo visus mihi pulchrior ipso
> Marmoreus tacita carmen hiare lyra,

read *hic quidam.* "A certain person" means a statue of Augustus himself, attired as Phoebus, and playing the lute. Perhaps this suggests a new point in the description of the Palatine Library, which this ode commemorates. Mr Palmer reads

> Hic *Phoebus* Phoebo visus mihi pulchrior ipso,

but the point of this is not clear, as the god himself is mentioned below (16), "Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat."

In iii. 4, 3,

> parat ultima terra triumphos,
> Tigris et Euphrates sub tua iura fluent,

Mr Housman reads *Thybris*, et—*fluet.* I think we may improve on his suggestion by reading

Thybris, *ut* Euphrates sub *sua* iura *fluat.*

Here "Tiber" is in *exegesis* to *ultima terra,* i.e. Italy as opposed to Parthia. Thus the Tiber desires that the Euphrates should become subject to it.

In iii. 6, 28, possibly we should read *unguibus* for *anguibus;* the witch *scratches up* bones with her long nails. But *exectis* cannot mean, I suppose, "uncut," and *haud sectis* does not seem probable. Mr Housman reads *exuctis anguibus,* which I do not understand.

In iii. 18, 10,

errat et *in vestro* spiritus ille lacu,

Mr Housman reads *inferno.* Rather, perhaps, *infesto,* "haunted," —a very "weird" verse.

I conclude by offering a meed of praise to Mr Housman for his clever correction of iv. 7, 4, *Tibure* ad extremam nuper humata viam, for *murmur* ad extremae viae, which is nonsense. Her burial at Tibur, on the banks of the Anio, where the road ended, is indicated in ver. 85 (if we so read with Mr Palmer),

Hic sita Tiburna iacet aurea Cynthia terra.

F. A. PALEY, LL.D.

ADVERSARIA.

Cato.

Origines II 27 Jordan. *Lavini boves immolatos, priusquam caederentur, profugisse in siciliam.* So the MS. of Daniel's Servius, which preserves this fragment on Aen. 10 542. *In silvam* is Brisson's emendation for *in siciliam*, and this the editors have accepted: I would suggest, in order to account for the first syllable of *siciliam*, that *in vicinam silvam* is the right reading.

Horace.

Carm. 2 2 5 *Vivet extento Proculeius aevo, Notus in fratres animi paterni.* Rutilius Lupus 1 5 (p. 5 Halm) has the following story of a certain Proculeius to illustrate the figure *ἀνάκλασις*, or taking a word intentionally in a different sense from that in which it was meant. *Huius modi est vulgare illud Proculeianum. Proculeius cum filium suum moneret et hortaretur, audacter ex bonis ipsius sumptum faceret, quas in res vellet atque opus esset, nec tum denique speraret libertatem licentiamque utendi futuram cum pater decessisset, cui vivo patre promisce omnia licerent, filius respondit, non esse se opus saepe eadem oratione moneri, nec se patris mortem expectare. Cui Proculeius pater subiecit, 'Immo oro,' inquit, 'meam mortem expectes, nec properes moliri ut velocius moriar.'* The anecdote is told in a much abridged form by Quintilian (9 3 68).

If the Proculeius of Horace may be identified with the young Proculeius of Rutilius, then *animi paterni* will gain greatly in meaning, 'his father's well-known generosity.' Proculeius treated his brothers (we must suppose) as his father had treated him.

Livy.

2 21 4 *Tanti errores implicant temporum, aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus* &c. After *errores* I propose to insert *res,* otherwise *implicant* has no object.

3 5 14 *Ut Romam reditum et iustitium remissum est, caelum visum est ardere plurimo igni, portentaque alia aut obversata oculis aut vanas exterritis ostentavere species.* After *aut* some word seems required to balance *obversata oculis:* I propose to insert *audita,* which might easily have dropped out after *aut.* Thus we get an intelligible sentence, 'portents either seen or heard of.'

Servius.

Aen. 10 664 '*Ille autem Aenean' legunt: quo si ita est quia Aeneas* '*multa virum demittit corpora morti.*' For *quo si ita est* Schöll has proposed *quod si ita est,* reading for *quia Aeneas... morti qui Aeneas...morti?* The right reading may perhaps be *quod stultum est, quia* &c.

Aen. 10 705 *Face praegnans Cisseis regina Parin creat.* Daniel's Servius has the following corrupt note: '*Parin creat' plus est quam si diceret* '*face praegnans incendit paret.*' Possibly for *plus est quam si diceret* '*face praegnans incendia parit':* the commentator meaning that the mention of Paris's name after the epithet *face praegnans* is a more powerful touch than the use of such a phrase as *incendia* or *ignes iugales* (Aen. 7 320) would have been.

Digest.

2 4 20 *Sed etiam ab inea et balneo et theatro nemo dubitat in ius vocari licere. Ab inea* may perhaps stand for *ab Iano.*

Lucan.

1 314.

Scilicet extremi Pompeium emptique clientes
Continuo per tot sociabunt tempora regno?

Mr Haskins, though apparently with some hesitation, refers *extremi* to 'the distant kings in Africa and the East who were

under the influence of Pompeius.' I confess my inability to make sense of *extremi*, and would suggest that it is a corruption for *hesterni*, 'clients of yesterday.' This would, I think, fit in excellently with the context, and would be a parallel, as far as the expression goes, to Persius's contemptuous *hesterni Quirites*.

3 558.

Tunc in signifera residenti puppe magistro
Brutus ait: Paterisne acies errare profundi,
Artibus et certas pelagi?

The commentators offer no satisfactory explanation of *et certas:* nor do I see how the words are to be translated. Perhaps *et certas* is a corruption for *expertas*.

7 139.

Tunc omnis lancea saxo
Erigitur.

Mr Haskins says *erigitur* = 'is straightened.' Can *erigo* have this meaning? I had conjectured *derigitur*, when I found that it is confirmed by Usener's Berne *Commenta, saxi pondere curvamen dirigitur contortae lanceae et recurvae.*

Velius Longus.

P. 49 Keil. *'I' vero littera interdum exilis est, interdum pinguis, ut in eo quod est 'prodit' 'vincit' 'condit' exilius volo sonare.*

For *volo sonare* I suggest *vult sonari.*

P. 52. *Nam quod ex hoc quoque existimant quidam colligi posse consonantem esse ('h' litteram) et adsignificantem, quod aut accedens aut recedens immutat significationem, siquidem aliud est hira, aliud ira, canam exemplum.* Velius Longus goes on to observe that the meaning of words is sometimes changed by a change of quantity (as in *pīla* and *pĭla*) and sometimes by a change of accent (as in *círcum* and *circúm*). The mere fact of the change of meaning in such cases as *ira* and *hira* is, therefore, not a strong argument for claiming *h* as a letter.

No satisfactory emendation has been offered for *canam exemplum,* nor am I at all confident in the one which I am going to propose, *contrarium ponam exemplum,* 'I will give an instance which makes the other way': though this would give the sense required.

P. 63. *In eo quod est 'expectatius' duplicem scriptionem quidam esse voluerunt, ut quotiens cum verbo quod est 'expecto opperior' praeposita haec pars orationis fuerit, 'e' et 'x' littera contenta sit; quotiens autem cum verbo quod est 'specto ludos,' necessaria esse 's' litterae insertior sit, ut in ipsa quoque scriptione ambiguitas deducatur eius quod est 'expectare illum volo' et 'spectare mihi placet.'*

Read perhaps *necessariam esse 's' litterae insertionem, ut... ambiguitas deluatur.*

Sergius on Donatus.

P. 520 Keil. *Consonantes autem sunt* (i *et* u) *cum aliis vocalibus in una syllaba praeponuntur, aut cum ipsae inter se in una syllaba coniunguntur. Nisi enim et prior sit et in una syllaba secum habeat coniunctam vocalem, non erit consonans i vel u. Nam 'Iulius' et 'Iarbas' cum dicis, i consonans non est, licet praecedat, quia in una syllaba non habet coniunctam vocalem, sed in altera consequentem.* For *Iulius* read *Iulus:* for in *Iulius* the first *i* is consonantal, and the writer can hardly be referring to the second *i.*

Vergil Aen. 12 158.

On the words *conceptumque excute foedus* Conington remarked 'It is just possible that there may be a reference to the physical sense of *conceptum,* and that *excute* may mean "render abortive," as, though no instance is quoted of the word in that sense, it would be sufficiently appropriate.' I have just found a parallel in Scribonius Largus (p. 2 Helmreich), *medicamentum quo conceptum excutitur.*

H. NETTLESHIP.

LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

The following words, from the fifth volume of Keil's *Grammatici Latini*, are wanting in the last edition of Georges' *Handwörterbuch:*

nector: Macr. Exc. Bob. 655. 8, *ἀγχονιστής·* nector. Stephens' Greek-Latin Glossary (in Labbé) has *ἀγχονιστής·* necator (a known word). There is the same confusion between nectus and necatus, cf. Osbern in Mai 8. 371 and Hagen Suppl. lxvi. 10. Ἀγχονιστής seems to occur in no Greek lexicon.

passivoneutra: t. t. in Phocas 431. 8. 'Neutropassiva' is well known.

paumentum: Iul. Exc. 324. 10, pro pavimento. Compare caueo cautus; pavĭmentum occurs late, and an inscr. gives paimentum, for which see Seelman's *Aussprache* p. 218.

piper: Cons. 392. 4, 'ī in African Latin'.

polibo: Pomp. 225. 12, polio et poliam et polibo, nutrio et nutriam et nutribo. Nutribo is quoted elsewhere (e.g. by Cledonius and Palaemon), but polibo occurs here only. See Neue II. 448 foll.

praedormio: Macr. Exc. Bob. 637. 15 quoted without ref. De Vit cites Augustine and the Latin of Irenaeus.

quia, quoniam, quod, after scio, praemoneo &c.: Pomp. 224. 2, 225. 3, &c., Macr. 633. 5. Cf. Rönsch p. 402, Dräger ii. p. 231 foll., Avianus I 2 with Mr Ellis' note.

rosum: de Dub. Nom. 589; Labbé (Cyr.) *ῥοδόν·* rosum. Cf. Du Cange; de Vit refers to the Digest.

salmentum: "verdirbt für salsamentum Charis. 265. 16; Iul. Exc. 324. 10 and 327. 15; Cons. 392. 10" Georges. And so Donatus Keil 4. 392. 15, and some glosses. But Iul. 327. 15 quotes 'Caper antiquissimus doctor' (100 A.D.) as saying 'salmenta

ne timeas proferre, quia latinum est' (Keil 7. 101. 8), and adds 'salmentum est purgamentum maris, salsamentum vero salsugo dicitur, in qua liquescit sal ut sales condiantur.' Compare Gl. Amplon. Oehl. 379. 53 and 13, salmentum: quod salibus condimus; Ball. Gl. &c., salmentum: confectio piscium; Placidus (ed. Hagen), salsamenta sunt omnes res salsae, ut pisces et sardae. (Cp. Osbern in Mai 8. 558 and Hildebrand *s. v.* salamentum.) The grammarians' notion that salmentum is contracted from salsamentum, as if through an intermediate salamentum, though upheld lately, is absurd. Seelman's examples of 's' dropping out (*Aussprache* p. 318) are quite different.

scutris, scutrilla: Cons. 346. 30, without ref. Possibly the words are confused forms of the common 'scutra, scutrillus' Pomp. 164. 24 &c. De Vit, overlooking Consentius, quotes only 'scutrilla' from Osbern in Mai 8. 567, but there Mai prints scrutilla, which we should probably read scutella (cf. Hagen, Suppl. 239. 10). Weinhold in Wölfflin's *Archiv* iv. 180 adds nothing to the explanation of these forms.

stetim: Cons. 392. 15 barbarismi, ut si quis dicat...stetim pro statim. See Seelman, p. 171.

stiria (n. pl.): de Dub. Nom. 590. 15, stiria dicuntur ab stillis, quae Vergilius genere feminino, Varro neutro dixit. The first part of the note comes from Verrius (Paul. ex Fest. 345. 3 M.), but it is common in grammarians, and does not, therefore, prove the correctness of the second part, the reference to Varro and the gender. The diminutive '*stirillum*' would point to a neuter form, but it appears in many glossaries (*e. g.* Ball.) as sterillum, and Löwe (*Prodr.* p. 18) holds this to be the proper spelling. Weinhold (*Genuswechsel der Deminutiva*, *Archiv* iv. 179—188) does not seem to mention stirillum, which is in Du Cange (= caprae barba).

subinepti: used by Macr. Exc. Bob. 632. 3, qui putant... dixere dualis esse numeri, subinepti sunt.

subtegumen: Aug. reg. 501. 12, quoted without ref.

torve: quoted by Pomp. 290. 19, torvum pro eo quod est torve, cf. nave naviter (of which latter new exx. are Götz Gl. Ter. 519, Gl. Ampl. 353. 8 Oehl., Bodl. Glossary) and Neue II. 654.

tumax: Eutych. 454. 1; ars anon. Bern. in Hagen Suppl. 74. 23; quoted without ref. The word occurs also in Diefenbach's Lat. German Glossary, 'qui cito emittitur'. By the side of this word

tumex: σμώδιξ Stephens' Lat. Gr. Gloss., and

tumix: τύμπανον Labbé (Cyr.), deserve quotation here.

turturella (for -*i*lla): de Dub. Nom. 592. 4, 'Pollio et alii.' The 'Pollio' need not be taken for certain, as the tract often seems to ascribe wrong authors to words. Turturilla is otherwise quoted only from Seneca (see *Archiv* iv. 184).

verbialis: = verbalis, t. t. in Pomp. 149. 1, Cledon. 37. 7. De Vit's ref. to Eutych. 450. 28 is wrong. For the form cp. artificalis, artificialis (see *Journal* vol. xiii. p. 81). De Vit gives *verbialiter* also.

utrum...aut: Pomp. 149. 10, utrum sarsor dicimus aut... aut...? So *num...vel num* in Cons. 368. 22, inspicere num possit...vel num...in alio intellectu...esse possit. There is, then, some authority for the 'utrum...ve', which Peerlkamp put down as Horatian.

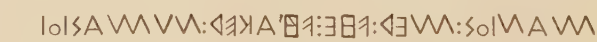
F. HAVERFIELD.

THE *NUMASIOS* INSCRIPTION.

TOWARDS the end of last year a tomb was opened at Praeneste by Helbig and Dümmler, in which was discovered a gold fibula bearing a very interesting inscription—the interest due to the form being considerably increased by its being supposed to date from before 509 B.C., which makes it much older than any other Latin inscription.

An abstract of the paper which Dümmler read before the 'archäologische Institut in Rom' appeared in the *Wochenschr. für klass. Phil.* of Jan. 26th, 1887 (No. 4, col. 121). The inscription is briefly noticed in Wölfflin's *Archiv für Lat. Lex.* 1887, Pt. I p. 143. More important than these however is a paper by Bücheler in the *Rheinisches Museum* (Vol. XLII p. 317), and it is the latter which forms the immediate occasion of the present article.

The inscription as given by Bücheler runs:



manios · med · vhe · vhaked · numasioi

[After the second *vh* are visible traces of an upright line, apparently a mistake corrected.]

In discussing such an inscription the three heads to be taken up are, palaeography, phonology, and morphology, inasmuch as the *matter* is unimportant.

1. Palaeography.

a. The direction of the writing is *retrograde.* Hitherto the canon had been (e.g. Hübner, *Müller's Handbuch,* Vol. I p. 496) that this order was only used in *devotiones* when the meaning was to be intentionally obscured.

b. The form of the letters.

If any one will compare the characters used here with those on the Dvenos inscr., which stands next in antiquity, he cannot fail to be struck by the differences they present, particularly in the signs for *d*, *h*, *o* and *s*. Again, a glance at the Greek inscriptions on western soil, either directly in Roehl (507—550) or by means of the tabulated results in Kirchhoff or Hinrichs (*Handb.* l. c. p. 416), will suffice to show that the similarity of their alphabets to this is very marked indeed and becomes more so in the Italian examples, so much so that we are fairly justified in describing this as a Greek alphabet, borrowed but not naturalised. The importance of this result will appear below.

c. The words are divided by double points instead of a single one as common later. In '*vhevhaked*' the first syllable is divided from the rest by ⁝. This seems merely to bear out the evidence for the hysterogene nature of the form. Bücheler's parallel *im · perator*, with *tribarakat · tins*[1] (*Cipp. Abell.*), *medicat · inom* (*Tab. Bant.*) and καταλείπον ⁝ τα[2] (I G A 321), are only additional evidence that the constant element of the word was kept mentally distinct from the variable terminations and prefixes.

2. Phonology.

a. The combination '*vh*'.

This is the transliteration which Bücheler suggests, meaning presumably Latin *v*, not German or English. In this I follow him, but justify the transliteration on very different grounds.

His view is, in brief, that this collocation represents a stage in the process by which the voiced aspirates *dh*, *bh*, *gh* passed in Latin into *f*. Now a principle of the utmost importance for directing the science of language is this: that no phonological change is to be considered as fully established until each step has been shown to be *natural* on phonetic grounds. It is the recognition of this which forms one of the merits of the modern school; it is this which decides the superiority of 'sonant

[1] Bartholomae (*Bezz. Beitr.* XII 82) denies that this has any phonetic value.

[2] This has also been explained as a mistake.

nasals' over 'nasal insertion' as an explanation of the same set of phenomena.

This canon Bücheler violates when he speaks of *dh, bh* and *gh* taking a parasitic *v* between the sonant and the aspirate, and when he goes on to say that from the *dvh,* &c. thus resulting, *either d,* &c. fell off, leaving *vh* (of which this is an instance) which passed into *f, or dv,* &c. fell off, leaving *h* only. Even allowing the possibility of a parasitic *v* after a *velar* guttural, which is phonetically explicable, the combination would be *ghv* and not *gvh,* while for the palatal, dental, and labial series such a hypothesis is entirely unjustifiable.

It may be urged that as long as a phonetic explanation of the change of the sonant aspirates to *f,* &c. is wanting, the insertion of hypothetical stages is permissible. It will therefore be scarcely out of place, if I attempt here an explanation of the change on phonetic lines.

A sonant aspirate contains in itself two antagonistic elements. While the vocal chords are stretched the current from the lungs is more or less impeded and softened. On the other hand the expulsion of a strong breath tends to force the chords apart and leave the passage free. Hence a sonant aspirate is an unstable combination and practically unknown in Europe except in the Irish pronunciation of English.

When this unstable sound is modified it must be done in one of two main directions, (1) in favour of the sonant, or (2) in favour of the aspiration. The latter again has two subdivisions, (*a*) the sonant may become its corresponding surd, (*b*) the aspiration may prevail entirely and produce a sound which may be called *h* if we remember that *h* is wholly indeterminate. The only other modification worth mentioning is that adopted by Teutonic in which the concession to the aspirate is made, not in the larynx, but in the mouth, resulting in *j*, ȝ, *đ*, *w*[1] respectively. Of these methods (2 *a*) is best exemplified by ancient Greek. Latin adopted (1) in the middle of a word where a strong breath is in any case difficult. Hence the rule

[1] The value of these signs is that given by Sievers, *Phonetik*, p. 127. This method of reduction does not seem to have been employed in Latin unless the *v* in *nivis* is an attempt to represent ȝ.

for Latin that *gh*, *dh* and *bh* medial pass into *g*, *d* and *b* respectively. On the other hand, at the beginning of a word the lungs are full and a strong expiration is easy; here then (2 *b*) is the method adopted. But the indeterminate *h* resulting therefrom, although indeterminate in writing, is by no means so in speech, its value being fixed by the following considerations. If the sound which it replaces was *gh* the only tendency to contact will be at the back of the mouth. Hence the breath will have a slight guttural character and will be accurately represented by *h*. On the other hand if the sound replaced was *dh* or *bh*, the tendency to contact is at the front of the mouth, the lips are approached and a bilabial sound is formed which bears most resemblance to *f*. Hence we may formulate the rule that *gh* initial, in Latin, passes to *h*[1], but *bh* and *dh* become *f*. Further, the *f* which comes from *bh* will be purely a bilabial sound, and a very slight severance of the lips would render it indistinguishable from *h*, whereas the *f* from *dh* would naturally be more labiodental in character and so be stable. The table given by Stolz, § 58 (*Handb.* II p. 177), should therefore be modified as follows for initial sounds:

Indo-Eur.	*gh*	*dh*	*bh*
Lat.	*h*	*f*	*f*
			h

If this account of the process is reasonable, the necessity for assuming a parasitic *v* falls to the ground, while a direct argument against Bücheler's view is supplied by the rule that *dh* medial passes into *d*. The sequence he seems to assume is I. Eur. **dhĕdhē*, Latin **dvhĕdvhē*, then **vhĕvhă*, but I. Eur. **dhĕdhē* would give Latin **fĕdē* (Osth. *Perf.* p. 207).

I believe the explanation of this orthography to be given at once by the nature of the alphabet, which was shown above to be *Greek*. That being so we have here to deal with a *transliteration*. But in a Greek alphabet of this date, no sign for *f* existed and the engraver would find some difficulty in representing the sound. The nearest equivalent would obviously be a breathed

[1] Cases of '*f*' are to be regarded as borrowed. Osthoff, M. U. 4. 99. Brgm. *Grundriss*, § 389.

digamma and as such I regard this combination. To mark that a sound is to be breathed *h* is used as a diacritic by the Greeks themselves, e.g. $\dot{\rho}$ = breathed ρ (Brgm. l. c. § 266) and F*h* as here (I. G. A. 131). This breathed F would differ very slightly from bilabial *f* and its regularly passing into *h* in Greek (Brgm. l. c. § 166) supports what was advanced above on the second change of *f* from *bh*[1]. That no distinction was made in writing, between *f* bilabial and *f* labiodental, is not to be wondered at. Of course when the alphabet had been naturalized and *v* was the equivalent for F, a double sign for *f* was cumbrous and unnecessary[2], and Bücheler, with great probability, suggests that while Latin retained F, the Umbro-Samnite alphabet simplified in the other direction and ⊟ modified as ⊘ for *h* was retained as 8 for *f*.

The vocalism of *fefaked* depends too closely on the morphology to be discussed here.

b. The proper name *Numasius.*

The difficulties presented by this word are not inconsiderable. In classical Latin we have the two forms Numisius and Numerius. Is this connected with either of them or with both?

Of course it is possible to call in the aid of that *deus ex machina,* the anaptyctic vowel. It is also possible with Bücheler to regard *-asius -isius -esius* as unimportant variations of suffix. Perhaps however a more legitimate explanation may be found.

Roman proper names are formed from a comparatively small number of simple roots. These may or may not have a meaning that we can trace—more frequently the latter is the case, for the very fact of a word becoming a proper name implies that it ceases to be used with a connotation. To these simple roots are added a great variety of suffixes both primary and secondary.

[1] This confusion of bilabial *f* with *h* is also illustrated by CIL I. 1501, for Jordan's explanation (*Krit. Beitr.* p. 50 *sqq.*) is hardly plausible.

[2] An interesting confirmation of this is yielded by a close inspection of the inscription. If Bücheler's copy is accurate, the engraver had actually omitted the diacritic after the second F, and only perceived it after beginning the ⊬. Thereupon he turned the ⍋ into ⊟ and erased the upright line which was to have formed the ⊬. This shows that the *h* was *necessary* but awkward.

An example of a root with traceable meaning is '*manus*' 'a good man', from which come *Manius Manilius Maneius*, &c.; of an obscure root is *Titus*, forming *Titius Titinius Titidius Titurius*, &c. One such old root-name was *Numa*—probably the oldest masculine *-a* stem in the language—which *may* be connected with *νόμος*. With the suffix *-so* (see Pauli, *Alt. It. Stud.* I 53) this gives *Număso-* secondary *Număsio-*, with which the later *Audasio- Equasio-* and the like cannot be compared on account of the doubtful quantity of their *-a-*.

The chief forms of the names are

A. Latin.

1. Numasius.
2. Numsius Momms. *U. I. Diall.* p. 252. Corss. *Etr.* II 14.
3. Numpsius Momms. l. c. p. 197. CIL I 1211.
4. Numisius classical and frequent.
5. Numaiirius, Numiirius CIL IV 2313.
6. Numerius classical.

B. Oscan.

1. Νιυμσδιηις Zv. 160.
2. niumsis Zv. 57.
3. niumerio Zv. 24 (late and Latinizing).

C. Etruscan.

1. Numsi. Corss. l. c.

The antiquity of this inscription (as well as the regularity of the formation itself) would lead us to assume *Numasius* as the original for all these forms. In Oscan and Etruscan the short vowel was syncopated as usual, and in this form, if we may trust A. 2 and 3, the name was borrowed by Latin. Another of the names derived from *Numa* was *Numitor*, in which *i* is regular, being in an unaccented syllable before a dental (Stolz, § 23, no. 4). It is then not surprising if *Numasius* and *Numsius* give way to *Numisius*. The name in this form is found in classical times, and, with other names in *-sius*, has been much discussed. Jordan (*Krit. Beitr.* p. 104 foll.) concludes that the tradition which makes Roman names in *-rius*

rest upon older forms in *-sius* is unfounded, and that all names in *-sius* are to be considered as borrowed. The prevailing view however is, that the tradition is correct, but that names in *-sius*, in classical times, are to be explained as Jordan does. I scarcely think enough allowance is made for the natural *stability* of spelling in the case of proper names (cf. Le Maistre in modern French) which moreover are specially subject to family caprice, tradition and even politics, as in the case of *Clodius*. It is not to be wondered at then that a certain family should retain *Numisius* although for the most part the rule of rhotacism produced *Numirius*. The subsequent change of *i* to *e* before *r* is regular (Brgm. *Grds.* § 33. 1).

Except for the explanation of the other forms, however, there is no need to insert any stages between *Numasius* and *Numerius*, for *Numarius* would of necessity receive *e* from *numerus*— Quintus Sextus, &c. and Quinctius Sextius, &c. giving the proportion both for *praenomen* and for *nomen*. See also Varro *ap.* Non. 352. 29 *qui celeriter erant nati fere Numerios praenominabant.*

Numisius gives in all probability the suffix *-ĭsius* which forms names in *-īrius* (e.g. *Papīrius* from *Papius*[1]), to analogy with which may be due Numiirius in A. 5. In the case of *Apisius* and the like, the quantity of the *i* depends on whether they are formed from *Apus* or *Apius* (*Appius*).

One name seems to have followed step by step the developement of *Numerius*. This is *Valerius*, which has *Vala*, also an *a-* stem, as base. That *Numerius* set the analogy, is certain from its superior antiquity, as shown by its twofold use. If the above considerations have any weight we must correct the statement of Festus (p. 23 Müll.) that the older form of *Valerius* was *Valesius*. It should be *Valisius* after *Numisius*, which would become *Valerius* as above. The existence of a suffix *-ĕsius* is questionable, for, in the examples quotable from the Corpus, both the quantity of the *-e-*, and its forming part of the suffix, are doubtful.

[1] Jordan l. c. seems to make *Numisius* stand to *Nummius* as *Papesius* does to *Papius*, which is impossible from the difference of quantity.

3. Morphology.

a. The character of the language.

This I have assumed to be Latin, on the authority of Bücheler, whose argument is that it lies between Latin and Oscan and is shown not to belong to the latter by the presence of '*med*' for which, to judge by analogy, Oscan would have '*miom*.'

b. '*med*.'

This accusative with the ablative ending *-d* shows that even in the sixth century B.C. Latin had its case-formation considerably broken down and confused.

c. '*fefaked*.'

That this cannot represent an original reduplicated form of the root *dhē-* was shown above, by the consideration that **dhĕdhē* would in Latin become **fĕdē*, while the interpunctuation points to the same conclusion. From the cognate forms the following may be suggested as a possible history: √*dhē* Perf. 1st sg. **dhĕdhē-a* = **dhĕdhē* (Sanskrit *dadhā-u*, Greek *τέθη-κα*); as in Greek, this was probably strengthened by the deictic particle *-ke* or *-ka* (the later *-ce*) either as an independent developement or inherited by each from the common stock. The case for Greek is stated in Osthoff, *Perf.* p. 326 *foll.* As in Greek also the *k* spread into the other tense systems, as the aorist *dhēk* = *θηκ*[1] whence the classical perfect *fēc-i*, and present *dhăk-* with the short vowel originally in plural only, but levelled into the singular. This may be considered as predialectic, for it is found in Oscan *fe-fac-ust fe-fac-id* (with hysterogene reduplication as here) *fakurent*, &c., in Umbrian, in classical Latin as in *facio*, and in this form. Bücheler thinks that the erased line points to a form *feficit* analogous to *tetigit* which the engraver was going to write but changed his mind. Perhaps the erasure is better explained as above. (Note 2, p. 200.)

The ending *-ed*, its character, and the quantity of the *e*, have been fully discussed by Osthoff (*Perf.* pp. 205—232) whose

[1] This equation is Bartholomae's (K. Z. xxvii. 255).

conclusion is that this "3. sing. auf *-ēd*" is to be regarded as "alte ur- und gemein-italische neubildung zu der 3. plur." This therefore brings nothing new to bear upon his result.

d. Numasioi.

The chief direct testimony to the use of this dative in *-oi* in old Latin, corresponding to the Greek *-ῳ*, had hitherto been that of Marius Victorinus (G. L. 17. 20) and it had been considered doubtful by some, e.g. Jordan, *Krit. Beitr.* p. 241.

The collateral evidence however, the analogy of Greek, and of Oscan forms like *Nuvlanúi*, was very strong at least for its existence in Italy. This however proves it to have lasted into Latin.

The general results of the discovery may be summed up as follows. It supplies a step in the history of alphabets, as it shows the process of borrowing from Greek in actual operation and as yet incomplete. It throws the separation of dialects in Italy to a very early date, as Latin is not only separated, but is considerably advanced towards its classical stage—of course this is assuming the accuracy of the ascribed date. It gives evidence of the existence of a single-name epoch and shows that that name might be a patronymic, thus explaining the existence of such among *praenomina*. Its bearing on other inscriptions is naturally unimportant from both its brevity and its antiquity, but it has a slight connection with the interpretation of the 'Dvenos.' Pauli (*Alt. It. Stud.* 1 1 *foll.*) makes two assumptions —that the retrograde order was *not* primarily due to desire of secrecy, but was a relic of an older custom,—and that the dative masculine in Latin ended in *-oi*. These are no longer assumptions but are actually in evidence, and to this extent the discovery supports his view.

H. D. DARBISHIRE.

AESCHYLEA.

Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε πατρῷ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη
σωτὴρ γενοῦ μοι ξύμμαχός τ' αἰτουμένῳ·
ἥκω γὰρ ἐς γῆν τήνδε καὶ κατέρχομαι.
τύμβου δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ τῷδε κηρύσσω πατρὶ
κλύειν ἀκοῦσαι. Choephori, 1—5.

The difficulty of the first line is well known. It is quoted by Euripides in the Frogs of Aristophanes as illustrating the charge of obscurity which he brings against Aeschylus. Euripides himself in that passage suggests one interpretation of the line. Dionysus proposes a different explanation. It has been assumed by every commentator with the exception of Aristarchus and Hermann that the rendering suggested by Euripides is malicious and absurd: while on the other hand the interpretation of Dionysus has been generally accepted by modern editors. It seems to me that the discussion in the Frogs does undoubtedly throw some light upon this passage—only it does so not by suggesting a meaning which we may accept, but by enabling us to set aside certain renderings of the passage which need not be further considered. May we not take it for granted that any explanation offered by a comic poet in elucidating a tragedy would be intentionally and comically false? Now with regard to the rendering suggested by Euripides almost every editor admits this. It is agreed that the misinterpretation is intentional. But what are we to say of the suggestion of Dionysus? Are his other answers to be taken seriously? Let us see. No one will maintain that his suggestive explanation of *κλύειν ἀκοῦσαι* (Frogs 1175) is advanced seriously. Surely the reason alleged *τεθνηκόσιν γὰρ ἔλεγεν...οἷς οὐδὲ τρὶς λέγοντες ἐξικνούμεθα* is only intended

to be absurd. And it is worth noticing that Mr A. Sidgwick in his edition of the Choephori in view of the general absurdity of the answers given by Dionysus assigns the lines

οὐ δῆτ' ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἐριούνιον
Ἑρμῆν χθόνιον προσεῖπε, καδήλου λέγων
ὁτιὴ πατρῷον τοῦτο κέκτηται γέρας

(Ar. Ran. 1144—46), which he takes to be a serious explanation, not to Dionysus but to Aeschylus. The suggestion in the mouth of Aeschylus would certainly be more deserving of respect, but I cannot think such an arbitrary change justifiable. Inasmuch then as we owe these explanations to Euripides and Dionysus under Aristophanic treatment I cannot think them entitled to any respect. Could the Athenians have been expected to laugh if Dionysus after his previous perversely absurd suggestions had gravely propounded a perfectly correct rendering of this line? It remains to consider whether either of these two interpretations gives a good sense. The first we may at once dismiss: for we cannot extract from πατρῷα κράτη so far-fetched a meaning as that suggested by Euripides ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπώλετο αὐτοῦ βιαίως. The sense given by the other rendering is hardly more satisfactory. For by translating "Hermes god of the lower world superintending the powers of your father Zeus" we introduce confusion into the passage. πατρῷ' in line 1 should, I think, in some way answer to πατρί in line 4. Orestes is here thinking of his own father only, and any reference to the source from which Hermes holds his powers seems to me quite beside the point.

A third rendering has been suggested by Conington, who takes πατρῷα κράτη to mean "the palace of my father." He also supposes that Orestes is addressing a statue of Hermes by the tomb. I do not think this at all probable. Agamemnon was buried δαΐαις ἐν ἐκφοραῖς possibly out of sight of the palace, and the assumption of a statue to Hermes near the tomb seems arbitrary.

In all these renderings it is assumed that the vowel elided in πατρῷ' is α. I believe it to be ε and punctuate thus:

Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῷ', ἐποπτεύων κράτη,

translating "Hermes of the lower world, god of my fathers, overseer of victory."

Hermes is thus addressed as (1) *χθόνιος*, (2) *πατρῷος*, (3) *ἐναγώνιος*. Then in the following lines *σωτὴρ σύμμαχός τε* answer to *ἐποπτεύων κράτη, πατρί* (line 4) to *πατρῷε*, and *τύμβου δ' ἐπ' ὄχθῳ τῷδε* to *χθόνιε*. Now there would be no ambiguity in the verse when duly pronounced by the actor, even if we suppose that the short vowel was elided in speaking. Probably however it was not elided but pronounced fully thus, *Ἑρμῆ χθόνιε, πατρῷε, ἐποπτεύων κράτη*. If the verse be read so, there is I think a decided advantage gained on metrical grounds—as it is usually read there is an abrupt pause after the second foot which spoils the rhythm. The obscurity of which Euripides complains certainly exists, and might have been removed by writing *κράτος* for *κράτη*. But fortunately we can illustrate from Aeschylus (Supplices 962) his preference for the plural *κράτη*. There we find *εἴη δὲ νίκη καὶ κράτη τοῖς ἄρσεσιν*, where as here the plural is preferred without metrical necessity. We find also *κράτεσιν ἀρσένων* in Supplices 388, but that is not so strong a case. I conclude then that this preference for the plural form *κράτη* is the cause of such obscurity as exists, but here as in Choeph. 553, *αἰνῶ δὲ κρύπτειν τάσδε συνθήκας ἐμάς* "I bid these conceal my counsels," there would be no ambiguity when the line was spoken. Now as to the meaning of *πατρῷε*. Hermes was a Pelasgian god worshipped at Argos (Supplices, *Ἑρμῆς ὅδ' ἄλλος τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις*), and Agamemnon boasts (Hom. Il. Bk. II. 72) that he received his golden sceptre through Thyestes, Atreus and Pelops from Hermes himself. Orestes therefore is specially justified in addressing Hermes as *πατρῷος*. (For *πατρῷος* applied to Hermes elsewhere cf. Lysias p. 104. 16, *ἀσεβεῖν περὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν αὑτοῦ πατρῷον*.) For the sense I have given to *ἐποπτεύων κράτη* overseer of victory we may compare Choeph. 475 *ὦ γαῖ' ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι μάχην*, and l. 583

> *τὰ δ' ἄλλα τούτῳ δεῦρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι λέγω*
> *ξιφηφόρους ἀγῶνας ὀρθώσαντί μοι,*

where Conington supposes Hermes himself to be intended.

κράτη may mean either victory, plural for singular (cf. Supplices 962, and for the meaning Isthmia VII. 5 ἀέθλων κράτος "victory in the games" Fennell), or feats of strength, mighty deeds. To conclude then, I propose this rendering on the following grounds: it gives a sense suitable to the context, it is not suggested as an explanation by Euripides or Dionysus, it may be thought to improve the rhythm, and lastly it bears out the charge of ἀσάφεια brought against Aeschylus by Euripides.

129—132

κἀγὼ χέουσα τάσδε χέρνιβας βροτοῖς
λέγω καλοῦσα πατέρ' ἐποικτείροντ' ἐμὲ
φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην πῶς ἀνάξομεν δόμοις.

Here I would read κελεῦσαι for καλοῦσα, translating "And I pouring these libations to mortals bid my father in pity for me and loved Orestes command us how we are to rule the house."

152—154 ἵετε δάκρυ καναχὲς ὀλόμενον
ὀλομένῳ δεσπότᾳ,
πρὸς ἔρυμα τόδε κακῶν κεδνῶν τ'.

If this chorus should be divided, as seems probable, into στροφὴ and ἀντιστροφή, ἔρυμα will not scan. Consequently Hermann reads πρὸς ἔρμα γᾶς, and Weil Hartung and Schoemann all make changes. Paley, too, thinks that ἔρυμα is corrupt. I do not believe that the expression "a barrier of good and evil" would convey much meaning to a Greek, and sense and metre will both be improved if we read πρὸς εὔγματα τάδε, a very slight change, translating "Let fall the tear, with reference to these prayers for good and evil." Electra's prayer is divided into two parts, (1) a prayer for good for herself and her brother, (2) a prayer for evil on her enemies. This is obvious even if we omit the lines 145—6 which distinctly assert it. The chorus is intended as a résumé of Electra's speech and naturally emphasises the fact of its division into two main parts.

277—78 *τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ γῆς δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα*
βροτοῖς πιφαύσκων εἶπε, τάσδε νῷν νόσους.

This passage has been variously emended. Retaining *νῷν* to whom can we refer it? To Orestes and Electra? Impossible. Everywhere Orestes alone is considered responsible. I believe that Orestes and Pylades are here referred to. The oracle would be delivered to both, even though Orestes alone was concerned in the consequences. There is a further difficulty in *δυσφρόνων μειλίγματα* for which I should prefer to read *δύσφρον' ὧν μειλίγματα* translating, "For the hostile influences springing from the earth, propitiations of which in his oracles he told to men, these [he told] to us as diseases, namely leprosies." Thus the oracle threatens diseases to which all men are liable, but which they can avert by propitiations which will not avail Orestes.

283—285 *ἄλλας τ' ἐφώνει προσβολὰς Ἐρινύων*
ἐκ τῶν πατρῴων αἱμάτων τελουμένας
ὁρῶντα λαμπρὸν ἐν σκότῳ νωμῶντ' ὀφρύν.

These lines are usually transposed or emended. Would it be possible to take *ὁρῶντα* as the accusative after *ἐφώνει* and *προσβολὰς Ἐρινύων* as governed by *ὁρῶντα*? I should then translate—"And he spoke of me seeing clearly, though asleep, other onsets of the Furies brought to pass from a father's blood." *ἐν σκότῳ νωμῶντ' ὀφρύν* I take to be merely a poetical equivalent for sleeping.

481—2 *κἀγὼ πάτερ τοιάδε σοῦ χρείαν ἔχω*
φυγεῖν μέγαν προσθεῖσαν Αἰγίσθῳ ∪–

(The last word of the line is lost in the Mss.) For this we have the following scholium *ὥστε φυγεῖν τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς Αἰγίσθου τιμωρησαμένην αὐτόν.* Paley laying stress on this proposes to read

κἀγὼ πάτερ τοιάδε' σοῦ χρείαν ἔχω
φυγεῖν με γῆν προσθεῖσαν Αἴγισθον δίκῃ.

But Orestes had prayed "Father, give me the lordship over your house." Is it not then a contradiction for Electra to say

"I too make a like request, namely that I may get safe out of the land." I should read *φυγεῖν μ' ἄγην* translating "I ask of thee that having punished Aegisthus I may escape all malice," i.e. not only the odium that the deed may excite among men, but also the *νέμεσις* of the gods. The scholiast wrongly supposed the *ἄγη* to refer to Aegisthus and so paraphrased it *τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς Αἰγίσθου* (Stephanus gives *invidia φθόνος* as equivalents to *ἄγη*).

639—648 *τὸ δ' ἄγχι πλευμόνων ξίφος*
διανταίαν ὀξυπευκὲς οὐτᾷ
διαὶ Δίκας· τὸ μὴ θέμις γὰρ οὐ
λὰξ πέδοι πατούμενον
τὸ πᾶν Διὸς
σέβας παρεκβάντες οὐ θεμιστῶς.

Paley's translation "for the irreligion of one who has lawlessly transgressed the majesty of Zeus is not trampled by it under ground (i.e. is not slighted)" is quite impossible. The participle *πατούμενον* cannot stand for the indicative.

I propose to read

τὸ μὴ θέμις γὰρ
οὐ λὰξ πέδοι πατούμενον
ποτ' ἂν Διὸς
σέβας παρεκβὰν πέσοι θεμιστῶς

and translate "for unrighteousness not being trampled under foot will one day after transgressing the majesty of Zeus fall by a righteous doom." By the change of *ποτ' ἄν* for *τὸ πᾶν* and *πέσοι* for *τες οὐ* sense and construction are made plain, and we get a forcible contrast between *τὸ μὴ θέμις* and *θεμιστῶς* instead of the intolerable repetition *τὸ μὴ θέμις, οὐ θεμιστῶς*. It is possible of course to retain *τὸ πᾶν*: in that case *πέσοι* expresses a wish, "as for unrighteousness...when it has transgressed all the majesty of Zeus may it fall by a righteous doom."

In the antistrophe the Mss. give

τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει διμασε
αἱμάτων παλαιτέρων

τείνει μύσος
χρόνῳ κλυτὴ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς.

Relying on the scholiast's note (*ἐπεισφέρει δὲ τοῖς οἴκοις τέκνον παλαιῶν αἱμάτων, ὅ ἐστι, τίκτει ὁ φόνος ἄλλον φόνον*) I propose to read

τέκνον δ' ἐπεισφέρει δόμοισιν
αἷμ' αἱμάτων παλαιτέρων·
τίνει μύσος
χρόνῳ κλυτὴ βυσσόφρων Ἐρινύς.

1014 *νῦν αὐτὸν αἰνῶ νῦν ἀποιμώζω παρών.*

If we keep this reading we must suppose *αὐτὸν* to refer to Agamemnon. Against this there are two strong objections, (1) Orestes has said no word in praise of Agamemnon, (2) there is nothing to justify our referring *αὐτὸν* to Agamemnon unless indeed it be *πατροκτόνον* in the line below. But further a reference to Agamemnon does not harmonise with the context. The three previous lines speak of the *φᾶρος*—the line that follows also refers to it. It seems therefore strange that a line should be inserted between the two on an entirely different subject.

I believe that *αὐτὸν* must therefore be wrong (cf. l. 991 where *αὐτὸν* is obviously a mistake for *αὐτὸ*) and should read

νῦν αὐτὸ φαίνω, νῦν ἀποιμώζω παρών

"Now I bring it to the light, now I bewail it standing on the spot." At the same time it must be admitted that Ag. 1543—5

ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσῃ, κτείνασ'
ἄνδρα τὸν αὑτῆς ἀποκωκῦσαι;
τίς δ' ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ;

may be thought to justify the Mss. reading here.

1044—5 *ἐγὼ δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος*
ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκὼς τάσδε κληδόνας λιπών.

Here the remedy is simple and I think certain. I read *ζῶ* for *ζῶν* and translate "But I a wanderer and banished from this land live, though I be dead, in these stories which I leave

behind me." The change from ζῶν to ζῶ is the slightest possible and we cannot wonder, if ζῶ καὶ τεθνηκώς was the original, that it should have been changed to ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκώς. And now as to the meaning.

If it be said that this opposition between life and death is more in the manner of Euripides than Aeschylus it will be sufficient to refer to a passage in this same play which strikingly illustrates the proposed correction. I give it here in full, l. 503—6

> μὴ 'ξαλείψῃς σπέρμα Πελοπιδῶν τόδε·
> οὕτω γὰρ οὐ τέθνηκας οὐδέ περ θανών·
> παῖδες γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κληδόνες σωτήριοι
> θανόντι.

It is not merely that there is a general resemblance between the two passages: the very words correspond. In the one case it is children who are κληδόνες σωτήριοι to the father, for so he dies not though he be dead: in the other it is κλήδονες, but not children, which will keep alive the memory of Orestes in spite of death.

Agamemnon 182—3

> δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις βιαίως
> σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

βιαίως is nonsense, and has been variously emended. I propose to read δι' αἰῶς which gives an excellent sense by the change of one letter only.

The meaning of the whole passage is shortly this "It is to Zeus that songs of victory must be sung: for it is due to the grace of the gods that the Trojans have learnt wisdom by suffering." In support of the reading proposed I may quote Supplices 573, 605

> Ζεὺς αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου...
> οὔτινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου σέβει κάτω.

1227—30

> νεῶν τ' ἔπαρχος Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης
> οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα μισήτης κυνὸς
> λέξασα κἀκτείνασα φαιδρόνους δίκην
> ἄτης λαθραίου τεύξεται κακῇ τυχῇ.

The difficulty of this passage, on which much critical ingenuity has been spent, is well known. Before accepting Madvig's emendations *φαιδρὸν οὖς* and *δήξεται*, which make a tongue stretch out a cheerful ear, it may be worth while to consider if we cannot get a better sense from the words as given in the Mss. Keeping to the Mss. reading I propose a new rendering of the passage. It is I believe generally allowed that the words *λέξασα κἀκτείνασα* contain some reference to Agamemnon's answer to Clytemnestra, l. 914—916,

> *Λήδας γένεθλον δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ*
> *ἀπουσίᾳ μὲν εἶπας εἰκότως ἐμῇ·*
> *μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας.*

This being so, it is *a priori* not improbable that the following words (*φαιδρόνους δίκην ἄτης λαθραίου*) may also have some connection with Clytemnestra's speech or Agamemnon's answer. Now, looking to the closing words of Clytemnestra's speech we read

910—3 *εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος*
ἐς δῶμ' ἄελπτον ὡς ἂν ἡγῆται δίκη·
τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνῳ νικωμένη
θήσει δικαίως σὺν θεοῖς εἱμαρμένα.

There is treachery in this proffered justice of which Agamemnon thinks not, and well may Cassandra say that the king "knows not the true meaning of the words of the accursed hound." It is to this *δίκη* and this *δικαίως* that Cassandra refers when she speaks of the tongue proffering justice. But Cassandra does more than this—she defines the nature of this justice—it is *δίκη ἄτης λαθραίου*, a justice which consists in a dark crime. There remains a slight difficulty as to the meaning of *ἐκτείνασα*. I can find no instance of *ἐκτείνω* with the meaning of holding out or proffering, but the somewhat similar sense which it has in the words *πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς* seems at least to prove that it was not exclusively used in the sense of "to prolong"; and it is difficult to believe that *ἐκτείνω* could not be employed with the meaning "to proffer." I therefore take *δίκην* to be the object of *ἐκτείνασα* and translate thus:

"The captain of the fleet and the destroyer of Ilium knows not what words the tongue of the lustful she-hound has spoken, with a gay heart proffering a justice which is a hidden crime, and will accomplish with an evil success."

The repetition of δίκη (l. 911) δικαίως (l. 913) may be thought to justify the translation "dwelling on a justice which is a crime," but I prefer to give ἐκτείνω the simple meaning "to proffer."

Agamemnon 1625—7

> γύναι σὺ τοὺς ἥκοντας ἐκ μάχης νέον
> οἰκουρὸς εὐνὴν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνουσ' ἅμα
> ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον;

Many corrections of this passage have been proposed; τοῦ γ' ἥκοντος (Auratus), τοῦ δ' ἥκοντος (Stanley), τῷδ' ἥκοντος (Tyrwhitt), γνοῦσ' ἥκοντος (Heusde), but none of these appear satisfactory. I propose to read

> γύναι σὺ τοῦ σ' ἥκοντος.

This correction explains the corruption, for if τοῦ σ' were written τους, ἥκοντος would inevitably be changed to ἥκοντας, though the passage is thus reduced to nonsense. The accusative after ἥκω is common in Aeschylus, cf. Prom. Vinc. 749 ἐνθ' Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν ἥξεις. We find also ὡς αὐτὸν ἥξοι μοῖρα in Sophocles. The repetition of σὲ after σὺ is not otiose but has a peculiar force, "Agamemnon came home from battle, and came to you: and yet you killed him." I should translate thus: "Wife thou of him who is come but now from battle to thee, hast thou the keeper of his house while bringing shame upon thy husband's bed at the same time plotted for a warrior husband this death?" —(or we might take ἅμα to mean "in concert with Aegisthus"). Mr A. Sidgwick objects to these lines on the ground that Clytemnestra does not come on the stage till l. 1654. I see no reason for this supposition. When Clytemnestra finished speaking, l. 1576, Aegisthus undoubtedly came upon the stage, but it seems to me preposterous to suppose that Clytemnestra at once left it—surely such an action on her part would be the reverse of a compliment to her lover. On the

other hand the appeal to Clytemnestra seems to me not inappropriate. The chorus first address a dignified remonstrance to Aegisthus, l. 1612—16. He answers by furious invective and threats. In disgust the chorus turn to Clytemnestra and address a last appeal to her. But Aegisthus, provoked at this want of respect to himself, answers for her with renewed threats. All this seems to me perfectly natural, and involves no violent change.

One passage from the Eumenides may serve to conclude these comments.

751—754

> *πεμπάζετ' ὀρθῶς ἐκβολὰς ψήφων, ξένοι,*
> *τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖν σέβοντες ἐν διαιρέσει.*
> *γνώμης δ' ἀπούσης πῆμα γίγνεται μέγα,*
> *βαλοῦσά τ' οἶκον ψῆφος ὤρθωσεν μία.*

This last line has always proved a stumbling-block. The scholiast explains *ἡ ψῆφος δὲ βαλεῖν τε καὶ ὀρθῶσαι οἶκον δύναται*—a very feeble sense even if it could be extracted from the words. Others propose to take *μία ψῆφος βαλοῦσα* in the sense of *εἷς ψηφιζόμενος βαλὼν*, which seems almost impossible.

I believe that the line has been interpolated with the obvious purpose of obtaining a false symmetry in the passage. It has been thought desirable to provide a cheerful antithesis for *πῆμα μέγα*, and in consequence we have got this verse which, though intended to serve a plausible purpose, is really useless or worse. Apollo has said "If a vote is absent, much mischief may be caused." The statement is perfectly general and includes a vote of condemnation as well as a vote of acquittal. We want nothing more, the sense is complete: "Count the votes carefully, the absence of a vote may make all the difference." But some one who misunderstood the passage stumbled at *πῆμα*, and by way of a cheering contrast produced this singularly unfortunate line.

HUGH MACNAGHTEN.

ON THE DATE OF CALPURNIUS SICULUS.

The interesting question of the date of this Roman bucolic poet, Calpurnius Siculus, has been revived by the publication of Mr Keene's excellent edition of his eclogues. It would be determined if scholars could agree respecting the identity of the young emperor celebrated by him, whose accession at an early age, coincident with the appearance of a comet, closed a period of civil war and general insecurity; whose predecessor had been a scourge to his subjects in general and to the senate in particular; and who himself exhibited spectacles in the amphitheatre. Until the appearance of Sarpe's dissertation in 1819, this emperor was universally identified with Carinus, a traditional opinion which will not bear a moment's examination. Sarpe's view that he was Nero has been adopted by most subsequent editors and literary historians, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of the circumstances attendant upon Nero's accession to those described by Calpurnius. In an article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1876) I ventured to point out the difficulties of the Neronian hypothesis, and to suggest that Calpurnius's young Emperor was Gordian the Third, who came to the throne at the age of thirteen or sixteen, succeeding a ferocious tyrant especially inimical to the senate, and closing a period of civil strife; whose accession nearly coincided with the appearance of a comet; who exhibited games in the amphitheatre; who, like Calpurnius's Emperor, was guided by a virtuous minister, and whose personal character and literary tastes agree with the description of the poet. For a fuller discussion of the subject I must refer the reader to my article, begging him to correct the atrocious misprint of Max*imus* for Max*imin*, and content myself here with adducing

some additional considerations, suggested by Mr Keene's argument on behalf of the Neronian theory, which had previously escaped my attention.

Mr Keene identifies the comet mentioned by Calpurnius (I., 77, sq.) with "that which appeared at the end of the reign of Claudius, and beginning of that of Nero." Now we know that this comet appeared while Claudius was still on the throne, for Suetonius enumerates it among the *praesagia mortis ejus.* But we do not know that it was still visible at Nero's accession, and, as we shall see immediately, there is strong reason to believe that it was not. Pliny certainly does not say, as Mr Keene understands him, "that the comet was visible for a considerable time." His words are *Sidus...principatu ejus adsiduum prope ac saevum.* This of course does not indicate that one and the same comet was visible during the greater part of Nero's reign, but that appearances of comets were frequent at the period. Granting, however, that this comet may have been visible for a long time after Calpurnius wrote, we know from himself that when he composed, or more probably published, his poem, it had only been seen for twenty days: a space of time surely insufficient for the prognostication of the Emperor's death, the fulfilment of the prophecy, the installation of his successor, and the composition and publication of so finished and elegant a poem. It further deserves to be noted that Calpurnius's description of his comet is quite at variance with Pliny's. Pliny calls it *sidus terrificum.* Calpurnius expatiates on its mild lustre, its perfect orb, free from gaps or rents (*sine vulnere plenus,* contrast Webster's "rough-bearded comet" and Milton's "horrid hair"); its general unlikeness to comets ominous of ill:—

> "Numquid utrumque polum, sicut solet, igne cruento
> Spargit et ardenti scintillat sanguine lampas?
> At quondam non talis erat."

In fact, however, there is very good reason to believe that the comet which was supposed to have announced the death of Claudius preceded that event by four months. There is no evidence, so far as I know, of a comet having appeared in

October, A.D. 54: but in Williams's "Observations of Comets extracted from the Chinese annals" (1871), one is recorded to have appeared in June of that year. (Mr Williams, by a slip of the pen, says A.D. 55; but if, as he states, it appeared in the thirtieth year of a Chinese cycle commencing with A.D. 25, the year of its appearance must have been A.D. 54.) This may with the greatest probability be identified with the comet deemed to have prognosticated the death of Claudius. Comets visible in China appear to be generally visible in Europe also: see Williams, *passim*, and Fleming's Travels in Manchu Tartary, where (p. 36) there is a representation of the appearance, as observed in China, of the great comet that startled Europe in July, 1861. There is, therefore, good reason for believing that the comet of 54 appeared in June, not in October, while we know from the Chinese observations (Williams, p. 21) that one was seen in September 238, about two months after Gordian had ascended the throne. We shall now see that the first eclogue of Calpurnius was almost certainly written in this very month of September, and not in October, as it must have been if Nero had been the emperor celebrated by him.

He marks the period of composition with great precision. It is *declinis aestas*, "waning summer," as Mr Keene renders it, "early autumn, before the summer heats are past." The heat is so great that a cap is not sufficient protection :—

"Torrida cur solo defendimus ora galero?"

This squares very ill with the month of October, even in Italy. But there is a closer indication of date. The vintage has reached that early stage when the must is expressed from the gathered clusters :—

"Quamvis et madidis incumbant praela racemis,
Et spument rauco ferventia musta susurro."

The earliest date for the commencement of the vintage in Italy mentioned by Columella is Sept. 2 for hot districts: the latest Oct. 14, but only *frigidis regionibus*. Most generally (*pluribus regionibus*) he says, it takes place between Sept. 17 and Sept. 28 (*De Re Rustica*, lib. XI., cap. 2). The last day of the holiday allowed for the purposes of the vintage was Oct. 15.

Now the young prince in whose honour the eclogue is thus composed at an early period of the vintage is already on the throne. (*Forsitan Augustas feret haec Meliboeus ad aures.*) He cannot therefore be Nero, whose accession did not take place until Oct. 13, but may very well have been Gordian, who became Emperor A.D. 238; in September of which year, and therefore at the usual time of the vintage, a comet appeared which was visible for forty-one days (Williams, and article in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*).

The very difficult passage, Ecl. I., 84—88, is thus rendered by Mr Keene, "Aye, for a very god will take on his strong shoulders the weight of the Roman empire, so unshaken that neither will a thundering crash be heard as the world passes to its new ruler, nor will Rome decree that the dead should be deified in accordance with their deserts, before that the beginning of the new reign can look back upon the close of the last." This is an admirable translation, but it suggests the inquiry, why should the deification of the Emperor's predecessor be so pointedly referred to when, according to the entire previous tenor of the eclogue, he had been so unworthy? and why should a single person be spoken of as *Penates?* Both difficulties are explained on the hypothesis of the identity of the Emperor celebrated by Calpurnius with Gordian the Third. Gordian was not the *immediate* successor of the tyrannical Maximin: the ephemeral reign of two good Emperors, Maximus and Balbinus, had intervened. Gordian's own relatives, the first and second of the name, acknowledged as emperors by the Senate, had also perished nearly at the same time as Maximin himself. Either or both of these Imperial pairs might with great propriety be described as *Penates.*

I learn from Mr Keene's preface that Calpurnius has already been referred to the age of Gordian by the late Mr Greswell. I was not aware of this when I wrote in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* nor have I been able to ascertain in which of Mr Greswell's writings the suggestion is made.

R. GARNETT.

NOTES ON JUVENAL.

During the two years which have elapsed since I printed the additions to my first volume, I have gleaned the following illustrations.

I 13 ADSIDVO LECTORE on the ablative see Wopkens on Justin XVIII 2 2.

I 16 p. 95 l. 5 fr. foot, read *dictaturam.* cf. with Sulla's retirement that of Lydiades, Paus. VIII 27 12.

I 27 p. 99 f. (on purple) Lact. IV 7 6 *regiae dignitatis assumptae indumentum.* Sagittar. on Justin I 3 2.

I 34 NOBILITATE cf. ind. and the concrete use of *ciuitas, paucitas.*

I 38 NOCTIBVS Heins on Ov. a. a. II 38.

„ 39 BEATAE Suet. Dom. 23. Gron. on Liv. XXIV 8 § 3.

„ 51 LVCERNA Kopp on Martian. Capella § 2 fin. p. 13.

„ 55 LENO dig. XLVIII 5 29 pr. mariti lenocinium *coercuit.* § 3 *qui* quaestum ex adulterio uxoris suae fecerit, *plectitur; nec enim mediocriter delinquit, qui* lenocinium in uxore exercuit.

I 57 VIGILANTI STERTERE NASO Ov. r. a. 499 *saepe ego, ne biberem, volui* dormire uideri.

I 59 60 CARET OMNI MAIORVM CENSV Nep. Pel. I § 4 *in quibus Pelopidas pulsus patria* carebat. Suet. Vit. 2 *Quintus* caruit ordine, *cum auctore Tiberio secerni minus idoneos senatores remouerique placuisset.*

I 61 p. 112 l. 6 fr. foot read tr. v 6 10.

„ 62 SE IACTARET AMICAE Wopkens on Justin XXIV 5 3 *nec minus ferociter* se legatis *quam inter amicos* iactauit.

I 68 GEMMAE Ov. P. II 10 7 *sis licet oblitus pariter* gemmae*que manusque* ('seal and handwriting').

I 70 see the story of the poisoning of Britannicus Tac. an. XIII 16 *illic epulante Britannico, quia cibos potusque eius delectus ex ministris gustu explorabat, ne omitteretur institutum aut utriusque morte proderetur scelus, talis dolus repertus est. innoxia adhuc ac praecalida et libata gustu potio traditur Britannico; dein, postquam feruore aspernabatur,* frigida in aqua adfunditur uenenum, *quod ita cunctos eius artus peruasit, ut uox pariter et spiritus raperentur.* Cf. Justin XII 14 9. Macr. Sat. VII 6 6 *si uero* aconitum *ipsum* cum uino tritum *potui datum sit, nulla curatio a morte defendit.* 7 *tunc enim uinum natura frigidum admixtione sui frigus auxit ueneni.*

I 86 GAVDIA DISCVRSVS hence Coripp. Iust. III 74 *saltatus risus* discursus gaudia *plausus.*

I 97 FACIEM PRIVS INSPICIT not merely as a protection from fraud was examination of visitors enforced Suet. Vesp. cited on IV 64 (p. 402). id. Claud. 35 salutatoribus scrutatores *semper apposuit, et quidem omnibus et acerbissimos.* DCass. LX 3 3 all visitors both men and women searched '*μή τι ξιφίδιον ἔχωσιν*'. Spartian. Seu. 6 § 2.

I 99 A PRAECONE VOCARI Martian. Capella § 63 Kopp *tunc Ianus in limine militesque Iouis ante fores regias constiterunt; ingressuros etiam cunctos nominatim* uocabat *Fama* praeconans.

I 100 TROIVGENAS Tac. an. IV 55 *ne Ilienses quidem, cum parentem urbis Romae Troiam referrent, nisi antiquitatis gloria pollebant.* XII 58 Nero, aet. 16 to gain a reputation for eloquence, *causa Iliensium suscepta Romanum Troia demissum et Iuliae stirpis auctorem Aeneam aliaque haud procul fabulis uetera facunde exsecutus perpetrat ut Ilienses omni publico munere soluerentur.* Galba (Suet. 2) traced his pedigree to Iuppiter and Pasiphae!

I 110 p. 340 l. 6 fr. foot, lemma NE not NEC.

„ 115 VIRTVS Kopp on Martian. Capella § 7 f. p. 33 a.

„ 120 121 DENSISSIMA LECTICA Ov. tr. V 10 19 densissimus *hostis.*

I 129 130 TRIVMPHALES...TITVLVS Suet. Dom. 15 *e basi* statuae triumphalis titulus *excussus ui procellae in monumentum proximum decidit.*

I 130 ARABARCHES already by Marcile (on Suet. Vesp. 6) identified with Tiberius Alexander.

I 135 OPTIMA SILVARVM hence Avian. 29 13 14 *namque illi agrestem cupiens ostendere uitam* | siluarum *referens* optima *quaeque dabat.*

III 9 RECITANTES Macrob. Sat. VII 3 7 carries the practice up to Cicero *Octauius, qui natu nobilis uidebatur, Ciceroni* recitanti *ait: 'non audio quae dicis'.*

III 9 p. 174 Ov. P. I 5 57 58 *gloria uos acuat; vos, ut* recitata *probentur* | *carmina, Pieriis inuigilate choris.* III 5 37 39 40 *dic tamen, o iuuenis studiorum plene meorum,* | *...ecquid ubi aut* recitas *factum modo carmen amicis,* | *aut, quod saepe soles, exigis ut* recitent.

III 9 p. 174 l. 11 fr. foot, for 'ib.' (i.e. ex Pont.) read trist.

„ 71 ESQVILIAS XI 51 (not 71).

„ 77 SCHOENOBATES Sid. c. XXIII 301.

„ 84 85 NOSTRA INFANTIA CAELVM HAVSIT AVENTINI Ov. tr. IV 8 25 *tempus erat nec me peregrinum* ducere caelum.

III 85 BACA SABINA see Der Oelbaum. Eine kulturhistorische Skizze von A. Hedinger. Prag 1886. pp. 14.

III 104 IACTARE MANVS Quintil. cited on 99 (not 9).

„ 108 CREPITVM DABIT Lucr. VI 109 *carbasus ut quondam magnis intenta theatris* | dat crepitum *malos inter iactata trabesque.* Aug. serm. 28 4 (Mai).

III 124 PERIERVNT TEMPORA Luc. IX 233 perierunt tempora *uitae.*

III 139 Sen. prou. 5 § 2 *detestabilis erit caecitas, si nemo oculos perdiderit nisi cui eruendi sunt. itaque careant luce Appius et* Metellus. Loss of sight in attempting to save a mother (Liban. IV 739).

III 142 QVAM MVLTA MAGNAQVE Macrob. Sat. III 15 8 quam multi magnique *auctores.*

III 151 NON VNA VI 218. VIII 213. Tyrrell in Classical Rev. I 51 a. Luc. III 466 *haud unum.*

III 153—5 EXEAT...CVIVS Luc. VIII 493-4 exeat *aula* | qui *uolt* (read with Grotius *uolet*) *esse pius.*

III 186 cf. Paus. VIII 20 3.

III 190 RVINAM 197 INCENDIA Suet. Vesp. 8 *deformis urbs ueteribus* incendiis ac ruinis *erat.*

III 198 POSCIT AQVAM the passage of Cic. is imitated by Justin V 1 5 *omnia Graeciae regna uelut ad exstinguendum commune incendium concurrunt.* So XLIII 5 4. Cf. IX 3 5. XIV 5 6.

III 209 210 VLTIMVS AVTEM AERVMNAE CVMVLVS Maguire (Hermathena 1887 168) compares Ov. m. XIV 472 cumulum*que Capharea cladis.*

III 226 HORTVLVS HIC PVTEVSQVE BREVIS Ov. P. I 8 45 46 (*hortos*) *quos ego nescio cui colui, quibus ipse solebam | ad sata fontanas, nec pudet, addere aquas.* 60 *et dare, iam sitiens quas bibat hortus, aquas.*

III 230 EST ALIQVID Ov. P. II 8 9. 10 39 (cf. 1 55 *sunt* quiddam *oracula uatum*).

III 238 DRVSO VITVLISQVE MARINIS Sen. const. sap. 17 1 *Chrysippus ait quendam indignatum, quod illum aliquis* uer-uecem marinum *dixerat.*

III 260 OBTRITVM VVLGI PERIT OMNE CADAVER Suet. Nero 5 (of Nero's father) *in uiae Appiae uico repente puerum citatis iumentis haud ignarus* obtriuit.

III 278 seq. Suet. Nero 5 (Nero's father) *Romae medio foro cuidam equiti Romano liberius iurganti oculum eruit.*

III 280 MOX DEINDE Wopkens and A. Gronov on Justin I 3 4.

III 285—287 see J. Miller, Die Beleuchtung im Alterthum. I. Die Beleuchtung bei den Griechen. Affschaffenburg 1885. pp. 57.

III 297—301 see the story of Nero's drunken frolics Tac. an. XIII 25 e.g. *ubi...quidam permissa semel licentia sub nomine Neronis inulti propriis cum globis eadem exercebant, in modum captiuitatis nox agebatur ; Iuliusque Montanus senatorii ordinis, ...congressus forte per tenebras cum principe, quia ui attemptantem acriter reppulerat, deinde agnitum orauerat, quasi exprobrasset, mori adactus est.*

P. 218 l. 7 for 'B.C.' read 'A.D.'

IV 15 Macrob. Sat. II 12, now numbered III 16 9.

„ 19 PRAECIPVAM CERAM see Rein Privatr. 806. Brisson,

Dirksen and lexx. under *praeceptio, praecipio, praecipuus.* Suet. Galba 5 *sestertium namque quingenties cum* praecipuum *inter legatarios habuisset.* Sid. ep. VI 12 (p. 354 f. Baret) *illud autem deberi tibi quodam, ut iurisconsulti dicunt,* praecipui *titulo, nec tuus poterit ire pudor infitias.*

IV 21 SPECVLARIBVS Marcile on Suet. Tit. 10 p. 135 Burm.

„ 33 VENDERE MVNICIPES SILVROS Macrob. Sat. VII 3 6 *est autem loedoria* (λοιδορία) *huius modi* '*oblitusne es quia* salsamenta uendebas?'

IV 57 PRAEDAM Macrob. Sat. III 15 1 *sed...ad* praedae *marinae transire luxum Liciniorum me nomen admonuit.*

IV 59 PROPERAT Tac. h. II 62 *ex urbe atque Italia irritamenta gulae gestabantur, strepentibus ab utroque mari itineribus.*

IV 69 IPSE CAPI VOLVIT Mart. VIII 78 11 12 *nunc implere sinus securos* gaudet *et absens* | *sortitur dominos, ne laceretur,* auis.

IV 71 Antiochus II was surnamed θεός, and so (according to prol. Trog. Pomp. 42) was Tigranes.

IV 71 DIS AEQVA POTESTAS Ov. tr. IV 8 52 acquantem superos *emeruisse uirum.* Iambl. uita Pyth. § 259 *ἴσους μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν.*

IV 79 INTERPRES LEGVM SANCTISSIMVS Dempster on Coripp. Justin IV 4.

IV 81 CRISPI IVCVNDA SENECTVS Martian. Capella § 3 *poetae ...secuti caecutientis* Maeonii suauiloquam senectutem.

IV 89 90 CONTRA TORRENTEM Archiv für lat. Lexikogr. IV 25 26.

IV 90 91 LIBERA VERBA Ernesti on Suet. Vesp. 9.

„ 96 OLIM Justin XXXVIII 3 1.

„ 98 FRATERCVLVS GIGANTIS Symm. ep. I 3 3 *Baiis remotis arbitris otiabar. eo postquam rumor adlatus est,* terrae filios *conuenire, oppido cauimus, ne sobriam solitudinem nostram sodalitas* plebeia *fuscaret.* Blätter f. bayer. Gymn. XVI 235.

IV 108 109 AMOMO, QVANTVM VIX REDOLENT DVO FVNERA Ov. P. I 9 51—53 *ille tibi exsequias et magni funus honoris* | *fecit et in gelidos versit* amoma *sinus,* | *diluit et lacrimis maerens* unguenta *profusis.*

IV 125 TRIVMPHI Mart. VIII 78 3.

„ 136 VICIT SENTENTIA Justin XIII 2 13.

„ 138 FALERNO Varro res human. XI in Macrob. Sat. III 16 12 *ad uictum optima fert ager Campanus frumentum,* Falernus uinum.

V 14 INPVTAT Luc. VIII 657 (not 567). Benecke on Justin XXXVIII 6 5. see esp. Tac. h. II 85 *unde metus et ex metu consilium posse* imputari *Vespasiano quae apud Vitellium* excusanda *erant.*

V 36 37 QVALE VINVM THRASEA HELVIDIVSQVE BIBEBANT BRVTORVM ET CASSI NATALIBVS Tac. h. IV 8 Marcellus said *constantia fortitudine Catonibus et* Brutis *aequaretur* Heluidius.

V 50 DECOCTA Lamprid. Heliog. 23 8 *montem* niuium *in uiridario domus aestate fecit aduectis* niuibus. Macrob. Sat. VII 5 32 *memineritis tamen lepido me conuiuio adesse, non anxio: nec sic admitto uarietatem, ut luxum probem, ubi quaeruntur* aestiuae niues *et hibernae rosae.*

V 94 DEFECIT NOSTRVM MARE Macrob. Sat. III 16 10 *nec contenta illa ingluuies fuit* maris sui *copiis.* See ind. *noster.*

V 94—96 Macrob. Sat. VII 5 32 *dum magis ostentui quam usui seruitur, siluarum secretum omne lustratur et* peregrina maria sollicitantur.

V 99 MVRENA Aristoph. frogs 475, Poll. VI 65, and Varro in Gell. VI (VII)16 5 *Tartesia.* Vitellius (Suet. 13) in his vast platter (*clipeus Mineruae*) served, among other things, muraenarum *lactes.* Lamprid. Heliog. 23 8 muraenarum *lactibus...in locis mediterraneis rusticos pauit.*

V 107 FACILEM SI PRAEBEAT AVREM Ov. P. II 9 25 *Iuppiter oranti surdas* si praebeat aures. Hor. ep. I 1 40 *si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.*

V 114 ANSERIS IECVR in the *clipeus Mineruae* (Suet. Vit. 13) *scarorum* iecinora.

V 117 TVBERA XIV 7 (not XIV 1).

„ 132 SIMILIS DIS beneficence divine Wiener Studien IX (1877) 199.

V 134 EX Macrob. Sat. VII 3 21 *ipse me mendicum fecit* ex *diuite.* Justin XIV 4 3 *uos me* ex *uictore uictum, uos me* ex *imperatore captiuum fecistis.*

VII 19 LAVRVM Kopp on Martian. Capella § 10.

„ 25 VENERIS MARITO Ov. P. IV 10 55 *duas terras, Asiam* Cadmique sororem.

VII 29 HEDERIS Kopp on Martian. Capella § 10.

„ 45 QVANTI SVBSELLIA CONSTANT Suet. Vesp. 19 *interrogatis palam procuratoribus,* quanti *funus et pompa* constarent.

VII 49 LITVS VERSAMVS ARATRO Archiv für lat. Lexik. IV 27.

„ 74 75 NON HABET...HABET Sen. prou. 3 § 1 potest *enim miser dici,* non potest *esse.*

VII 78 CAPIVNT PLVS INTESTINA POETAE anth. Pal. XI 207 1 *καὶ τρώγεις ὅσα πέντε λύκοι, Γάμε.*

VII 91 ATRIA Sen. ep. 19 § 11 *alioquin habebis conuiuas, quos ex turba salutantium nomenclator digesserit. errat autem qui amicum in* atrio *quaerit, in conuiuio probat.* Marcile on Suet. Vesp. 5.

VII 92 Ov. tr II 507—510 *quoque minus prodest, scaena est lucrosa poetae,* | *tantaque non paruo crimina praetor emit. inspice ludorum sumptus, Auguste, tuorum:* | *empta tibi magno talia multa leges.*

VII 121 VINVM, QVINQVE LAGONAE like apposition with *milia?* Benecke on Justin XXIV 7 9.

VII 126 QVADRIIVGES Suet. Dom. 13 *Ianos arcusque cum* quadrigis *et insignibus triumphorum per regiones urbis tantos et tot exstruxit, ut cuidam Graece inscriptum sit: arci (ἀρκεῖ).*

VII 155 COLOR Ov. tr. I 8 (9) 63 64 *ergo ut* defendi *nullo mea posse* colore, | *sic* excusari *crimina posse puto.* Luc. IX 207 Haskins. Serv. Aen. IV 613.

VII 162 QVIDQVID ID EST Ov. P. III 3 73.

„ 163 DELIBERAT AN...AN in the sense 'whether...or' Justin XXIV 7 1 deliberauit an...an *uero.*

VII 170 VETERES CAECOS Spartian. Hadr. 25 3 *uenit et de Pannonia quidam* uetus caecus *ad febrientem Hadrianum eumque contingit.* 4 *quo facto et ipse oculos recepit et Hadrianum febris reliquit.*

VII 173 AD PVGNAM QVI RHETORICA DESCENDIT AB VMBRA Ov. r. a. 152 *uade per urbanae splendida* castra togae. tr. III 12 18 *cedunt uerbosi garrula* bella fori. f. IV 188 *et* fora Marte *suo litigiosa uacent.* P. IV 6 29 Marte forensi.

VII 180 LVTO Suet. Vesp. 5 *mox, cum aedilem eum C. Caesar, succensens curam uerrendis uiis non adhibitam,* luto *iussisset oppleri congesto per milites in praetextae sinum, non defuerunt qui interpretarentur, quandoque proculcatam desertamque rem publicam ciuili aliqua perturbatione in tutelam eius ac uelut in gremium deuenturam.*

VII 183 RAPIAT CENATIO SOLEM Maguire (Hermathena 1887 166) cites Stat. s. III 4 98 *sic ait et speculum reclusit imagine* rapta. Claud. nupt. Hon. et Mar. 106—108 (every wall is polished) *speculi nec uultus egebat | iudicio. similis tecto monstratur in omni, | et* rapitur *quocumque uidet, dum singula cernit.*

VII 196 EDERE VAGITVS Ov. m. XV 466-7 *aut qui* uagitus *similes puerilibus haedum |* edentem *iugulare potest.* Quintil. I 1 21 *futurus eloquentissimus* edidit *aliquando* uagitum *et loqui primum incerta uoce temptauit et haesit circa formas litterarum.*

VII 199 VENTIDIVS Bernegger on Justin XLII 4 10.

„ 202 CORVO RARIOR ALBO Ov. P. III 3 95 96 *si dubitem, faueas quin his, o Maxime, dictis, |* Memmonio cycnos *esse* colore *putem.* White blackbirds in Paus. VIII 17 3 4.

VII 206 GELIDAS CICVTAS Sen. prou. 3 12 *male tractatum Socratem iudicas, quod illam potionem publice mixtam non aliter quam medicamentum immortalitatis obduxit et de morte disputauit usque ad ipsam? male cum illo actum est quod* gelatus *est sanguis ac paulatim* frigore *inducto uenarum uigor constitit?*

VII 210—212 METVENS VIRGAE ET CVI NON ELICERET **A** conj. Ov. tr. IV 10 65 66 molle *Cupidineis* nec inexpugnabile *telis | cor mihi,* quodque *leuis causa* moueret, *erat.* Sen. de ira I 17 2 *telum firmum perpetuum obsequens* nec anceps nec quod *in dominum remitti* posset. II 29 2 *est aliquis* malignus et qui *amicitias cohaerentes diducere* uelit, cet. Suet. Vesp. 5 *secundum (ramum)* praeualidum ac prolixum et qui *magnam felicitatem* portenderet.—**B** ind. Ov. met. II 64 *ardua* prima *uia est,* et qua *uix mane recentes |* enituntur (Riese *enitantur*) *equi.* Sen. const. sap. 3 2 *contigit illi res* uulgaris et quae discitur *ipsa iniuriarum assiduitate, patientia.* ep. 71 14 *mens* hebes et quae *se corpori* addixit. Grammarians

and commentators have not, to my knowledge, observed the corresponding use of adverbs with *ut* consecutive Pers. 2 8 *haec* clare et ut audiat *hospes.* Suet. Vit. 10 magnifice et ut ostenderet.

VII 212 CITHAROEDI MAGISTRI Wiener Studien IX (1887) 183.

„ 234 NVTRICEM ANCHISAE Macrob. Sat. VII 3 13 *nec negauerim philosophos quoque incurrisse nonnumquam per indignationem hoc genus scommatis. nam cum regis libertus ad nouas diuitias nuper erectus philosophos ad conuiuium congregasset et irridendo eorum* minutulas quaestiones *scire se uelle dixisset cur ex nigra et ex alba faba pulmentum unius coloris edatur, Aridices philosophus indigne ferens: 'tu nobis' inquit 'absolue, cur et de nigris et de albis loris similes maculae gignantur.'*

VII 240 VICIBVS Justin II 4 12 *duae his reginae...*uicibus *gerebant bella.* Stat. s. IV 9 48—50 *quid? si cum bene mane semicrudus | illatam tibi dixero salutem | et tu me* uicibus *domi salutes?* Th. VIII 422. XII 458. Manil. II 153 *alternant genus et* uicibus *uariantur in orbem.* III 553 554 *et modo dest aliud, modo adest* uicibusque *recedit | aut redit.* 671 *cetera nunc urgent* uicibus, *nunc tempora cedunt.* Known to Forcellini, but not to Riddell-White or Lewis-Short, this usage is confined to a few authors; sometimes we find *alternis u., mutatis u.*; most commonly *in uicem* (esp. frequent in Celsus), *in uices.*

VII 241 OCVLOS TREMENTES Sagittar. on Justin I 3 2 (p. 128-9) *oculorum lasciuia.*

VII 242 Vitellius ruled by jockeys Suet. 12 pr. Tac. h. II 87.

X 358 EXTREMVM INTER MVNERA (vol. I p. 466) Ov. tr. IV 5 1 *o mihi dilectos* inter *pars* prima *sodales.* V 12 25 26 *tempore qui longo steterit, male curret et* inter *| carceribus missos* ultimus *ibit equos.* P. I 5 1 *ille tuos quondam non* ultimus inter *amicos.* IV 10 57 *quos* inter maximus *omnes.* VM. VI 9 14 f. (of Marius) *quem si* inter *miseros posueris,* miserrimus, inter *felices* felicissimus, *reperietur.*

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

NOTES ON MARTIAL, BOOK III.

FRIEDLÄNDER'S edition has laid a solid foundation both for text and interpretation, but much remains to be done. A commentary, combining all that is valuable in Rigault, Rader, Hérault, Marcile, and other early scholars, together with much that is still in manuscript, or dispersed in *adversaria* and periodicals, would be a boon to students. Meanwhile I wish to shew my gratitude to Friedländer by printing such of my marginal notes as have escaped him. Some of them may have been anticipated, but for the present purpose, of furnishing a supplement to Friedländer's great work, it seems unnecessary to ransack many volumes in order to guard against repetition. I omit what I have already published (Classical Review I 56—58) in a review of Friedländer, and begin with book III, as I have at press an edition of the first two books.

III 1 1 QVIDQVID ID EST VI 68 11. Iuv. VII 162 n. Ov. P. III 3 73.

III 1 6 DEBET ENIM GALLVM VINCERE VERNA LIBER Iuv. IX 9—11 *certe modico contentus agebas* | vernam *equitem, conviva ioco mordente facetus* | *et salibus vehemens intra pomeria natis.*

III 2 Ellis on Catull. 1 1. Munro elucidations of Catullus p. 5. Becker-Rein Gallus II^{3} 381—4.

III 2 4 CORDYLAS MADIDA TEGAS PAPYRO IV 10 2 *pagina dum tangi* non bene sicca *timet.* Catull. 95 7 8 *at Volusi annales Paduam morientur ad ipsam* | *et laxas* scombris *saepe dabunt* tunicas. The shabby bundle of Greek writers on miracles, which Gellius (IX 4 §§ 1—5) picked up for an old song at Brundisium, must have been on the way to the fishmonger's.

III 2 5 VEL TVRIS PIPERISVE SIS CVCVLLVS Ath. 374$^{a\,b}$ Anaxandrides the comic poet, being hot-tempered, when a play

of his lost the prize, did not recast it, as most did, but λαμβάνων ἔδωκεν εἰς τὸν λιβανωτὸν κατατεμεῖν.

III 2 6 FAVSTINI FVGIS IN SINVM? SAPISTI. IX 5 1 *nubere vis Prisco: non miror, Paula:* sapisti. XI 106 4 *transis hos quoque quattuor?* sapisti.

III 2 7 CEDRO PERVNCTVS Becker-Rein Gallus II³ 376.

„ „ 9 10 PICTIS LVXVRIERIS VMBILICIS ET TE PVRPVRA DELICATA VELET Ellis on Catullus 22 7. Becker-Rein l. c. 377—382.

III 4 7 8 POETA EXIERAT: VENIET, CVM CITHAROEDVS ERIT Iuv. VII 176 n.

III 5 2 AN SATIS VNVS ERIT? V 19 14 *forsitan* unus erit. Cf. Ovid there cited.

III 5 7 8 EST ILLI CONIVNX, QVAE TE MANIBVSQVE SINVQVE EXCIPIET Anthol. Pal. XII 208 5 (Strato to his book, destined for a boy) πολλάκι φοιτήσεις ὑποκόλπιον.

III 6 4 LIBAT FLORENTES HAEC TIBI PRIMA GENAS Iuv. III 186 n. pp. 201, 378.

III 9 1 VERSICVLOS IN ME NARRATVR SCRIBERE CINNA Dräger hist. Synt. II² 454. Tac. Agr. 7 22. With this epigram cf. Lessing's no. 86.

III 11 6 Munro on Lucr. IV 1152 retains the comma after *Thaida.*

III 12 cf. X 49 and anthol. lat. 796 R (an epigram formerly printed as Martial's IV 78; cf. Ellis in Journ. of Philol. IX 191) where the point is just the same as here:

ad cenam Varus me nuper forte uocauit:
ornatus diues, paruula cena fuit.
auro, non dapibus decoratur mensa; ministri
apponunt oculis plurima, pauca gulae.
tunc ego 'non oculos, sed uentrem pascere ueni:
uel tu pone dapes, Vare, uel aufer opes'.

III 12 3 RES SALSA EST BENE OLERE ET ESVRIRE I 59 4 *tam male cum cenem, cur bene, Flacce, lauor?* Luc. de merc. cond. 28 τὸ μὲν γὰρ λιμῷ ξυνόντα καὶ νὴ Δία γε διψῶντα μύρῳ χρίεσθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡρέμα καὶ γελοῖον.

III 12 4 5 QVI NON CENAT ET VNGVITVR, FABVLLE, HIC VERE MIHI MORTVVS VIDETVR Iuv. IV 109 n. pp. 234, 410. Muret u. l. III 19. Ov. f. IV 853 *arsurosque artus* unxit. P. I 9 52 53 *diluit et lacrimis maerens* unguenta *profusis* | *ossaque uicina condita texit humo.* Anth. Pal. XI 8 1—3 *μὴ μύρα, μὴ στεφάνους λιθίναις στήλαισι χαρίζου* | *μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ φλέξῃς· ἐς κενὸν ἡ δαπάνη.* | *ζῶντί μοι, εἴ τι θέλεις, χάρισαι.* ib. 19 3 4 *μυρίσωμεν* | *αὐτοὺς, πρὶν τύμβοις ταῦτα φέρειν ἑτέρους.*

III 13 1 DVM Ellis on Catullus 44 9.

„ 15 2 CAECVS AMAT cf. 39 2 *quam bene lusca uidet!* Iuv. IV 114 n. pp. 235, 411. This epigram is translated by Sherburne.

III 16 5 6 SED TE, MIHI CREDE, MEMENTO | NVNC IN PELLICVLA, CERDO, TENERE TVA from Hor. s. I 6 22 *vel merito, quoniam* in propria non pelle quiessem. The ass in the lion's skin Luc. pisc. 32.

III 17 5 DIGITOSQVE ADMITTERE VISA EST V 78 6 7 *ponetur* digitis *tenendus unctis* | *nigra coliculus uirens patella.* Ov. a. a. III 755—6 carpe cibos digitis (*est quidam gestus edendi*) | *ora nec immunda tota perungue manu.*

III 17 6 MERDA 28. I 83.

„ 19 1 PROXIMA CENTENIS OSTENDITVR VRSA COLVMNIS Firmic. math. VIII 10 p. m. *qui buxeas arbores tondens in* beluas *fingat.* So Becker-Rein Gallus III[3] 45 takes the bear here, not as Fr. of a bronze figure.

III 19 2 EXORNANT FICTAE QVA PLATANONA FERAE. XII 50 1 *daphnonas* platanonas. Prop. IV (V) 8 75 *tu neque* Pompeia *spatiabere cultus in* umbra.

III 20 1 CANIVS in the tract appended to Jerome (XI 2 333[d] ed. Vallarsi, Ven. 1771 4to) 'Valerius Rufino ne ducat uxorem', I find Canninus (sic) a Gadibus Herculis, poeta facundiae lenis *et* iucundae, *reprehensus est a Liuio Poeno* (!), *graui et uxorato historiographo, quod multarum gauderet amoribus, his uerbis,* which are not worth repeating.

III 20 4 AN QVAE NERONI FALSVS ASTRVIT SCRIPTOR? Ios. ant. XX 8 § 3 has an important passage on the falsification of Nero's history by biassed historians.

III 20 7 AN IN COTHVRNIS HORRIDVS SOPHOCLEIS Fr. cites

Verg. and Ov. but not Iuv. VI 636 *grande* Sophocleo *carmen bacchamur hiatu,* nor Prop. II (III) 33 41 *desine et Aeschyleo conponere uerba* cothurno.

III 20 11 SPATIA ARGONAVTARVM see Obbar on Hor. ep. I 6 26.

III 20 15 TITINE THERMIS AN LAVATVR AGRIPPAE? Fr. cites Becker's topography 286 (read 686) in his n. on II 14 15. Becker omits Suet. Tit. 7 f. *amphitheatro dedicato* thermisque *iuxta celeriter exstructis.* ib. 8 (p. 239 48 Roth) *ne quid popularitatis praetermitteret, nonnumquam in* thermis suis *admissa plebe lauit.* Charisius (p. 93 28 K) finds an excuse for bringing the three baths into his grammar: *deriuationis uero tanta est inaequalitas ut conprehendi non possit. nam cum sit Agrippa, mulierem Agrippinam dicimus.* thermas *uero* Agrippinianas. *item cum sit Nero ut leo, pelles leoninas,* thermas Neronianas *dicimus. item cum sint Titus et lupus similia,* thermas *Titinas ut pelles lupinas non dicimus, sed* Titianas.

III 20 19 BAIAS Iuv. III 4 n. pp. 171, 346. XI 49 n. XII 80 n.

III 20 20 PIGER LVCRINO NAVCVLATVR IN STAGNO Plin. pan. 81 *quantum dissimilis illi, qui non Albani lacus otium* Baianique torporem *et silentium ferre, non pulsum saltem fragoremque remorum perpeti poterat, quin ad singulos ictus turpi formidine horresceret! itaque procul ab omni sono inconcussus ipse et immotus religato reuinctoque navigio non secus ac piaculum aliquod trahebatur: foeda facies, cum populi Romani imperator alienum cursum alienumque rectorem velut capta nave sequeretur.* Becker-Rein Gallus I^3 142—152. Friedländer II^3 108 6.

III 21 1 FRONTE NOTATA Hemst. on Luc. Timon 17 f. ὥσπερ στιγματίας δραπέτης πεπεδημένος. Iuv. X 183 n. XIV 24 n. (esp. Pont. vit. Cypr. 7 *confessores* frontium notatarum *secunda inscriptione signatos*). Wallon hist. de l'esclavage II^1 288—291 has several examples, including this, of servile fidelity.

III 23 1 2 OMNIA CVM RETRO PVERIS OBSONIA TRADAS, CVR NON MENSA TIBI PONITVR A PEDIBVS? anth. Pal. XI 11 3—6 ἀλλ' ἐκάλουν σε μόνον· σὺ δ' ἔχων χορὸν οἴκοθεν ἥκεις | ὀρχηστῶν, αὐτοῖς πάντα διδοὺς ὀπίσω. | εἰ δ' οὕτω τοῦτ' ἐστί, σὺ τοὺς δούλους κατάκλινον, | ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ τούτοις πρὸς

πόδας ἐρχόμεθα. 205 οὐδὲν ἀφῆκεν ὅλως, Διονύσιε, λείψανον Αὔλῳ | Εὐτυχίδης δειπνῶν, ἦρε δὲ πάντ' ὀπίσω· | καὶ νῦν Εὐτυχίδης μὲν ἔχει μέγα δεῖπνον ἐν οἴκῳ, | μὴ κληθεὶς δ' Αὖλος ξηροφαγεῖ καθίσας. 207 καὶ τρώγεις ὅσα πέντε λύκοι, Γάμε, καὶ τὰ περισσά, | οὐ τὰ σά, τῶν δὲ πέριξ, πάντα δίδως ὀπίσω. | πλὴν μετὰ τοῦ κοφίνου τοῦ πρὸς πόδας αὔριον ἔρχου, | πρίσματα καὶ σπόγγον καὶ σάρον εὐθὺς ἔχων.

III 24 3 TVSCVS...HARVSPEX Bentley Works, ed. Dyce III 435. Iuv. XIII 62 n.

III 24 9 INGENS IRATIS APPARVIT HIRNEA SACRIS see a learned note of Casaubon on Suet. Aug. 82 pr.

III 24 14 quoted in anth. lat. 127 9 10 R *solus vera probas iucundi uerba poetae:* | DVM IVGVLAS HIRCVM, FACTVS ES IPSE CAPER. Gron. obs. II 15 first rightly explained the line.

III 25 1—3 SI TEMPERARI BALNEVM CVPIS FERVENS, FAVSTINE, QVOD VIX IVLIANVS INTRARET, ROGA, LAVETVR, RHETOREM SABINEVM from Macho in Ath. 580ª (Diphilus *loq.*)

> νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ θεοὺς ψυχρόν γ', ἔφη,
> Γνάθαιν', ἔχεις τὸν λάκκον ὁμολογουμένως.
> ἢ δ' εἶπε, τῶν σῶν δραμάτων γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς
> εἰς αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τοὺς προλόγους ἐμβάλλομεν.

Cf. ib. 579ᵉ. More in Hermann (Becker's Charikles I² 192).

III 26 cf. II 43. Translated by Sherburne.

„ „ 4 COR SOLVS HABES 27 4. II 8 6 *tunc ego te credam* cordis habere nihil. VII 78 4 habes nec cor, *Papile, nec genium.* XI 84 17 unus *de cunctis animalibus hircus* habet cor. Cic. de or. III § 61 *hinc discidium illud exstitit quasi linguae atque* cordis, *absurdum sane et inutile et reprehendendum, ut alii nos* sapere, *alii dicere docerent.* Liv. perioch. 50 *cum tres legati ad pacem inter Nicomeden et Prusiam faciendam a Romanis missi essent, cum unus ex iis caput multis cicatricibus sartum haberet, alter pedibus aeger esset, tertius* ingenio socors *haberetur, dixit Cato, eam legationem nec caput nec pedes* nec cor habere. Suet. Nero 2 *in hunc* [Cn. Domitium] *dixit Licinius Crassus orator, 'non esse mirandum, quod aeneam barbam haberet, cui os ferreum,* cor plumbeum *esset'.* id. Caes. 77 f. *eoque arrogantiae progressus est, ut haruspice tristia et sine corde*

exta quondam nuntiante, 'futura' diceret 'laetiora, cum uellet; nec pro ostento ducendum, si pecudi cor defuisset'. This passage of Caesar may have suggested Avian. 30 9—14 (where see Ellis)

tunc domini captum [aprum] *mensis dedit ille superbis,*
in uarias epulas plurima frusta secans.
sed cum consumpti dominus cor *quaereret apri,*
impatiens fertur quod rapuisse cocus,
rusticus hoc iustam uerbo compescuit iram
affirmans stultum non habuisse *suem.*
'nam cur membrorum demens in damna redisset,
atque uno totiens posset ab hoste capi?'

Auson. epigr. 48, 49 (= 8, 60 Peiper) he who says *reminisco, faceret cor, si* cor haberet cet.

III 29 Jahn's Persius p. 138. Iuv. VII 140 *anulus ingens.* Petron. 67 *eo deinde peruentum est, ut Fortunata armillas suas ...detraheret...etiam periscelides resoluit...Trimalchis iussit afferri...et 'uidetis' inquit 'mulieris* compedes'.

III 30 Becker-Rein Gallus II^3 166—7.

„ „ 2 QVID ROMAE, GARGILIANE, FACIS? Iuv. III 41 n. p. 351 quid Romae faciam?

III 30 3 FVSCAE PENSIO CELLAE Becker-Rein I^3 15.

„ „ 4 QVADRANS Becker-Rein III^3 105.

„ 31 4 SVSTENTATQVE TVAS AVREA MASSA DAPES Schneidewin and Fr. read *massa* with mss. TQ, for *mensa* of the others, because 'golden or gilt tables are nowhere mentioned'. Yet Musonius (Stob. fl. 85 20) says κλῖναι μὲν ἐλεφάντιναι καὶ ἀργυραῖ ἢ νὴ Δία χρυσαῖ, τράπεζαι δὲ παραπλησίας ὕλης. Mart. IX 23 5 *ut Mauri Libycis centum stent dentibus orbes* | *et crepet in nostris* aurea lamna *toris.* XIV 89 ('mensa citrea') *accipe felices, Atlantica munera, siluas:* | aurea *qui dederit dona, minora dabit,* where the wooden *tables* are surely compared not with plate, but with gilt *tables. sustentet* (like *sustinuisse* in XIV 91 2, cf. Hor. Iuv.) is more naturally predicated of a table, or the leg of a table, than of plate (though Pliny is cited for this latter use in lexx. *sustineo*). Nor is *massa* in itself very tempting.

III 32 4 NONDVM ERIT ILLA CANIS Iuv. X 271 n.

„ 33 2 LIBERTINA MIHI PROXIMA CONDICIO EST Plaut. trin. 455. Ter. Andr. 79. hec. 241. Cic. Phil. 2 § 99 n. p. Cluent. § 42. Plin. XXXVI § 20. Iustin I 6 § 6. XI 7 § 8. Quintil. decl. 257 f. *sic homini inter principes nostrae ciuitatis numerando coepi bona esse* condicio.

III 35 1 ARTIS PHIDIACAE TOREVMA CLARVM IV 39 4 *solus* Phidiaci toreuma *caeli.* X 87 16 *donet* Phidiaci toreuma *caeli.*

III 35 2 PISCES ASPICIS: ADDE AQVAM, NATABVNT cf. Ov. her. 13 153—4

crede mihi, plus est quam quod videatur, imago:
adde *sonum cerae, Protesilaus* erit.

III 36 cf. I 70. 108.

„ „ 5 6 LASSVS VT IN THERMAS DECIMA VEL SERIVS HORA TE SEQVAR X 70 13 14 balnea post decimam lasso *centumque petuntur* | *quadrantes.*

III 38 cf. VIII 56

„ „ 4 ATQVE ERIT IN TRIPLICI PAR MIHI NEMO FORO Iuv. XIII 135 n.

III 38 11 ATRIA MAGNA COLAM XII 68 1 2 *matutine cliens, urbis mihi causa relictae,* | atria, *si sapias, ambitiosa* colas. Becker-Rein Gallus II^3 161.

III 39 cf. 15. VIII 49.

„ 40 translated by Sherburne.

„ 41 Becker-Rein Gallus I^3 40. II^3 322.

„ 42 4 QVOD TEGITVR MAGNVM CREDITVR ESSE MALVM *magnum* Schneidewin and Fr. from one ms. the *maius* of the others is much more forcible, as may be seen from Bernegger's citations on Justin XIV 1 § 2.

III 44 cf. I 89.

„ „ 7 NON DIPSAS see Obbar on Hor. ep. I 17 30 p. 378.

„ 18 VIR IVSTVS, PROBVS, INNOCENS TIMERIS Plut. de garrul. 4 f. (p. 504) *ὁ δ' ἀδόλεσχος πανταχοῦ λῃρεῖ, ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἐν περιπάτῳ, μεθ' ἡμέραν, νύκτωρ· ἔστι δὲ θεραπεύων τῆς νόσου βαρύτερος· συμπλέων τῆς ναυτίας ἀηδέ-*

στερος· ἐπαινῶν τοῦ ψέγοντος ἐπαχθέστερος. ἥδιόν γέ τοι πονηροῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν ἐπιδεξιοῖς ἢ χρηστοῖς ἀδολέσχαις.

III 45 6 NEC VOLO BOLETOS, OSTREA NOLO : TACE cf. IX 35 11 12 to a newsmonger *tolle tuas artes; hodie cenabis apud me* | hac lege, ut narres, nil, Philomuse, noui. anth. Pal. XI 10 τὸν τοῦ δειπναρίου νόμον οἴδατε· σήμερον ὑμᾶς, | Αὖλε, καλῶ καινοῖς δόγμασι συμποσίου. | οὐ μελοποιὸς ἐρεῖ κατακείμενος· οὔτε παρέξεις | οὔθ' ἕξεις αὐτὸς πράγματα γραμματικά.

III 47 10 ILLIC CORONAM PINGVIBVS GRAVEM TVRDIS XIII 51 ('turdorum decuria') *texta rosis fortasse tibi uel diuite* nardo, | *at mihi* de turdis facta corona *placet.*

III 50 cf. VI 48.

„ „ 3 DEPOSVI SOLEAS Becker-Rein Gallus III[3] 165. Böttiger kl. Schr. III 206. Ter. haut. 124 *adsido: accurrunt serui,* soccos detrahunt.

III 50 6 MENSA SECVNDA Gell. XIII 11 § 6 *neque non de* secundis *quoque* mensis, *cuiusmodi esse eas oporteat, praecipit. his enim uerbis utitur: 'bellaria' inquit 'ea maxime sunt mellita quae mellita non sunt: πέμμασιν enim cum πέψει societas infida'. quod Varro hoc in loco dixit 'bellaria', ne quis forte in ista uoce haereat, significat id uocabulum omne* mensae secundae *genus.* Ov. met. IX 92 mensas, *felicia poma,* secundas.

III 54 CVM DARE NON POSSIM, QVOD POSCIS, GALLA, ROGANTEM, | MVLTO SIMPLICIVS, GALLA, NEGARE POTES. Friedländer has not thought it worth while here to record Madvig's conjecture (aduers. II 163) 'fuit: *quod* dare non possim, *cum* poscis, Galla, rogantem, cet. (nihil in epigrammate obsceni est.)' The last remark might hold good, but for the general character of the epigrams addressed to Galla. Fr. therefore here, as in the parallel epigram II 25, is justified in giving certainly to *rogo* and *nego,* possibly to *do* also, the common erotic sense. The text is sound: '*since* I cannot grant *what* you demand as the price of the favour which I ask, you might, Galla, say *No* more frankly'. Her terms are only a roundabout way of saying 'No'.

III 56 and 57 water sold at Ravenna cf. dig. XXXIV 1 1 *si*

alimenta fuerint legata, dici potest, etiam aquam legato inesse, si in ea regione fuerint legata ubi venumdari aqua solet. ib. 14 § 3 in Africa and Egypt *aqua venalis est.* Ancient cities were generally most copiously supplied with water by aqueducts; for these Ravenna was afterwards indebted to Theoderic. Sidonius (ep. I 5 p. 184 Baret) says of the town: *huc cum peropportuna cuncta mercatui tum praecipue quod esui competeret, deferebatur: nisi quod, cum sese hinc salsum portis pelagus impingeret, hinc cloacali pulte* (a graphic touch!) *fossarum discursu lintrium ventilata, et ipse lentati languidus lapsus umoris nauticis cuspidibus foraminato fundi glutino sordidaretur,* in medio undarum sitiebamus: quia nusquam uel aquaeductuum liquor integer uel cisterna defaecabilis uel fons irriguus uel puteus illimis. On the salt marshes see Sil. VIII 601—2 *quique graui remo limosis segniter undis | lenta paludosae proscindunt stagna Ravennae.* Sid. ep. I 8 (p. 195 B) *in qua palude indesinenter rerum omnium lege peruersa muri cadunt, aquae stant...*sitiunt uiui, *natant sepulti.* A recent traveller in Spain states that in many parts of Andalusia wine is cheaper than water: in Rioja (district of Pamplona) mortar is mixed with wine (A. v. Seefeld in Vereinsblatt für Freunde der natürlichen Lebensweise, no. 90, Nordhausen 15 Nov. 1876, p. 1432).

III 58 cf. X 51. 79.

„ „ 1 2 BAIANA VILLA...NON OTIOSIS ORDINATA MYRTETIS Bentley and Obbar on Hor. ep. I 15 2—7 (Baias...myrteta). Cels. II 17 pr. *sudor etiam duobus modis elicitur: aut sicco calore aut balneo. siccus calor est et harenae calidae et laconici et clibani, et quarumdam naturalium sudationum, ubi e terra profusus calidus uapor aedificio includitur, sicut* super Baias in myrtetis *habemus* (these last words *super—habemus* in III 21 p. 107 2 D have rightly been rejected as a gloss).

III 58 7 ET MVLTA FRAGRAT TESTA SENIBVS AVTVMNIS Ov. met. IX 89—92 *et nymphe, ritu succincta Dianae, | una ministrarum, fusis utrinque capillis, | incessit totumque tulit praediuite cornu |* autumnum. XIV 660 *suspiciens pandos* autumni *pondere ramos.* cf. *ὀπώρα.*

III 58 14 NOMENQVE DEBET QVAE RVBENTIBVS PINNIS Iuv.

XI 139 n. Sen. ep. 110 § 12. Polemii Siluii laterculus (p. 267 Mommsen) *finicopter.*

III 58 16 PHASIANA Iuv. XI 139 n. Sen. ad Helu. 10 § 3. Suet. Vit. 3.

III 58 24 NON SEGNIS ALBO PALLET OTIO COPO Hor. s. II 2 20—22 *tu pulmentaria quaere | sudando: pinguem vitiis* album*que neque ostrea | nec scarus aut poterit peregrina iuvare lagois.* cf. Obbar on Hor. ep. I 14 24.

III 58 31 CAPILLATI X 62 2. Petron. 27 pr. *senem caluum ...inter pueros* capillatos *ludentem pila.*

III 58 36 SOMNICVLOSOS GLIRES Non. p. 119 *Laberius in Aquis caldis etiam hic me optimus* somnus *premit, ut opprimitur* glis. Ammian. XXVIII 4 § 13 Val. *poscuntur etiam in conuiuiis aliquotiens trutinae, ut adpositi pisces et uolucres ponderentur et* glires, *quorum magnitudo saepius replicata non sine taedio praesentium.*

III 58 42 NEC AVARA SERVAT CRASTINAS DAPES MENSA Iuv. XIV 129 n.

III 58 47 FVREM PRIAPO NON TIMENTE Lact. II 4 § 2 (after citing Hor. s. I 8 1 seq. cf. § 3, and § 4 where he cites Verg. g. IV 110; see the commentators on both places) *quis non sit tanto hoc custode securus?* fures *enim tam stulti sunt, ut* Priapi *tentiginem* timeant; *cum aues ipsae, quas terrore falcis aut inguinis abigi existimant, simulacris fabrefactis, id est hominum plane similibus, insideant nidificent inquinent.*

III 60 7 CLVNIBVS Plin. X § 140.

„ „ 8 IN CAVEA MORTVA PICA Petron. 28 f. *super limen autem* cauea *pendebat aurea, in qua* pica *uaria intrantes salutabat.*

III 61 translated by Sherburne.

„ 63 cf. II 7.

„ „ 3 BELLVS HOMO EST, FLEXOS QVI DIGERIT ORDINE CRINES X 65 6 *tu* flexa *nitidus* coma *uagaris.*

III 63 5 GADITANA Iuv. XI 162 n.

„ „ 7 8 INTER FEMINEAS TOTA QVI LVCE CATHEDRAS DESIDET Justin XXI 5 § 4 *non contentus...conspici in popinis lupanaribusque, sed* totis diebus desidere.

III 63 6 BRACHIA VOLSA X 65 8 leuis dropace *tu cotidiano.*

III 63 13 QVID NARRAS? Caecil. 59 R. Ter. Andr. 461. eun. 672. Ph. 136. ad. 448. 559. cf. Ph. 685 quid *ergo* narras? quid *ego* narrem? 935 *quaeso* quid narras? ad. 557 quid *malum* '*bone uir*' *mihi* narras? Andr. 477 *ego* quid narres *nescio.* 734 quid narres *nescio.* So *quid narrat? quid istic narrat? quid ea narrat?* The comic vocabulary has been too much neglected by expositors of Martial.

III 65 2 DE CORYCIO QVAE VENIT AVRA CROCO on *aura* see Munro Lucr. II 851.

III 65 8 QVOD MADIDAS NARDO PASSA CORONA COMAS XI 8 10 *quod modo diuitibus lapsa* corona comis.

III 66 3 LAVRIGEROS AGERES CVM LAETA TRIVMPHOS Claud. 3 cons. Hon. 12 *inter* laurigeros *aluerunt castra* triumphos.

III 67 4 CELEVMA Sid. ep. II 10 (with Savaro p. 158). VIII 12 (Sav. p. 544). Serv. Aen. III 128. Eddius uit. Wilfr. 13. Hier. ep. 14 ad Heliod. § 10. See Faber's thesaurus.

III 67 7 INTERIVNGIT II 6 16.

„ 68 cf. 69. V 2. priap. 1.

„ „ 2 SCRIPTA INTERIORA Cic. ep. ad Qu. fr. III 1 § 18 *quod* interiore epistula scribis. DL. V § 4 *παῖανα, ὃς ἔνδον γέγραπται.*

III 68 5 DEPOSITO POST VINA ROSASQVE. PVDORE Hor. ep. I 9 11 12 *quodsi* | depositum *laudas ob amici iussa* pudorem. Mart. X 19 19—21 (in the *comissatio*) *haec hora est tua, cum* furit Lyaeus, | *cum* regnat rosa, *cum madent capilli:* | *tunc me uel rigidi legant Catones.*

III 68 11 SI BENE TE NOVI I 112 2 *nunc* bene te noui. Hor. ep. I 18 1 Obbar si bene te noui. Fr. cites Ov.

III 69 7 8 AT TVA, COSCONI, VENERANDAQVE SANCTAQVE VERBA A PVERIS DEBENT VIRGINIBVSQVE LEGI I 35 1—3 *uersus scribere me parum seueros* | nec quos praelegat in schola magister, | *Corneli, quereris.*

III 70 cf. I 73.

„ 72 3 TIBI PANNOSAE DEPENDENT PECTORE MAMMAE Jahn's Persius p. 174. moret. 34 Forb. *iacens mammis.*

III 72 4 SVLCOS VTERI Claud. in Eutr. I 110 *iamque aeuo laxata cutis* sulcisque *genarum* | *corruerat passa facies rugosior uua.*

III 74 2 3 NVMQVID TONSOREM, GARGILIANE, TIMES? QVID FACIENT VNGVES? this is explained by XIV 36 ('ferramenta tonsoria') tondendis *haec arma tibi sunt apta* capillis; | unguibus *hic longis utilis, illa genis.* cf. Obbar on Hor. ep. I 7 50 51 *adrasum quendam uacua* tonsoris *in umbra* | cultello *proprios* purgantem *leniter ungues.* Theophr. char. 26 (29 Jebb) the oligarch goes about, 'his hair daintily trimmed, his nails delicately pared'.

III 74 4 RESINA when Fr. says that *resina* was 'offenbar' (i.e. by inference from this passage) an ingredient in the depilatory mixture, he forgot the express testimony of Iuv. VIII 114 n. resinata *iuuentus.* On the habit generally add Suet. Dom. 22. Lamprid. Heliog. 31 § 7. Capitol. Pertin. 8 § 5.

III 74 5 SI PVDOR EST Iuv. III 154 n. pp. 198, 373.

„ 75 3 ERVCAE aphrodisiacs also in Verg. moret. 86. Plin. XIX § 44. Iuv. IX 134. priap. 46 8. 47 6.

III 75 3 BVLBIQVE SALACES Apul. VII 12 *aqua decoquant* bulbos, *qui Veneris* usum quaerunt.

III 75 4 SATVREIA Ov. a. a. II 415—6 *sunt qui praecipiunt herbas,* satureia, *nocentes* | *sumere: iudiciis ista uenena meis.* Classed with *eruca* by Cels. II 31 as a diuretic. Magerstedt, Bilder aus der röm. Landwirthschaft (Sondershausen 1863) 248—251.

III 76 4 POSSIS Hor. epod. 12 15.

„ „ „ HECABEN proverbial example of old age 32 3. X 90 3—6 where also she is contrasted with Andromache. Iuv. X 272 n. priap. 12 1 *quaedam iunior* Hectoris parente. anth. Pal. XI 67 a crone of 800 years, *τρυφερὴ Λαὶ Κορωνεκάβη,* | *Σισύφου ὦ μάμμη καὶ Δευκαλίωνος ἀδελφή.*

III 77 1 BAETICE 81.

„ „ 1—3 TVRDVS...LEPVS...SECTAE QVADRA PLACENTAE VI 75 1 2 *cum mittis* turdum*ue mihi* quadram*ue* placentae, | *siue femur* leporis. XIII 92 *inter aues* turdus, *si quid me iudice certum est,* | *inter quadrupedes mattea prima* lepus. Iuv. V 2 n. pp. 244, 417.

III 77 4 PHASIS XIII 72.

„ „ 5 CAPPARIN Ath. 497[f]. 567[e]. Polyaen. str. IV 3 § 32 p. 142 1 Woelfflin. Schneider on Colum. XIII 3 § 54 p. 597.

III 79 2 PERFICERE cf. the goddess Perfica Arn. IV 7 pr. the jest of Heliogabalus (Capitol. Maximini 4, with Saumaise).

III 80 DE NVLLO QVERERIS, NVLLI MALEDICIS, APICI: RVMOR AIT LINGVAE TE TAMEN ESSE MALAE interpreted by Minuc. 28 § 10 *etiam ille qui de adoratis sacerdotis uirilibus aduersum nos fabulatur, temptat in nos conferre quae sua sunt. ista enim impudicitiae eorum forsitan sacra sunt, apud quos sexus omnis omnibus membris prostat, apud quos tota impudicitia uocatur urbanitas: qui scortorum licentiae inuident,* qui medios uiros lambunt (Mart. III 81 2) *libidinoso ore inguinibus adhaerescunt;* homines malae linguae etiam si tacerent. See Davies there. In anth. Pal. XI 155 4 (*ἀλλ' ἐάλω ποιῶν ἔργα κακοστομάτων*) the last word is a conjecture for *κακοστομάχων*, suggested to Boissonade by our verse. He should have shewn that the form is possible. Compounds of *αἷμα, γράμμα, λῆμα* cet. do make *-ατος*, but *κακοστόματος* must leave the honours of the lexicon to *κακόστομος*.

III 81 2 Minuc. just cited. Ellis on Catull. 80 6.

„ 82 II 19.

„ „ 5 GALBINATVS Suet. Galba 3 Torr.

„ „ 9 CVSPIDESQVE LENTISCI VI 74 3. Marquardt Privatl. I 320 11. Böttiger, Sabina I 57. Becker-Rein, Gallus I³ 191. Petron. 33 pr. (with comm.) *ut deinde argentea pinna dentes perfodit.*

III 82 11 FLABELLO Plaut. trin. 253 Wagner *flabelliferae.*

„ „ 12 FVGATQVE MVSCAS MYRTEA PVER VIRGA Sen. lud. 10 § 3 *qui uobis non posse uidetur* muscam excitare. de ira II 25 § 3 Lipsius *quid est enim, cur...*musca parum curiose fugata *in rabiem agat?* Arist. wasps 597. knights 59 60 *ἀλλὰ βυρσίνην* (parody on *μυρσίνην*) *ἔχων* | *δειπνοῦντος ἑστὼς ἀποσοβεῖ τοὺς ῥήτορας.*

III 82 15 DIGITI CREPANTIS SIGNA cf. Beda h. e. IV 3 (p. 96 7) *sonitum manu faciens,* with my n. p. 305.

III 82 23 COCTA FVMIS MVSTA MASSILITANIS Desjardins, Gaule I 444—5.

III 82 24 OPIMIANVM Iuv. V 30 n. 31 n. 34 n. pp. 249, 420.

„ „ 32 MALCHIONIS cf. the Trimalchio of Petronius (Rhein. Mus. II 69).

III 83 1 VT FACIAM BREVIORA MONES EPIGRAMMATA II 77. VI 65.

III 85 cf. II 83.

„ 91 3 HVIC COMES HAEREBAT Ellis on Catull. 26 5.

III 92 VT PATIAR MOECHVM, ROGAT VXOR, GALLE, SED VNVM. | HVIC EGO NON OCVLOS ERVO, GALLE, DVOS? Fr. remarks

> Das dauernde Verhältniss mit einem Liebhaber, also gleichsam einem zweiten Manne (Sen. ben. III 16 § 3 matrimonium uocari *unum* adulterium) galt für schlimmer als Ehebruch mit mehreren.

On the parallel epigram (VI 90 *moechum Gellia non habet nisi unum.* | *turpe est hoc magis: uxor est duorum*) Fr. in like manner

> Da nämlich das Verhältniss einer Frau mit nur einem Ehebrecher als eine Art zweiter Ehe galt, so ist diese Bigamie noch schimpflicher als Ehebruch mit mehreren.

Let us read a little more of Seneca's text:

> numquid iam ullus adulterii pudor est, postquam eo uentum est, ut nulla uirum habeat, nisi ut adulterum irritet? argumentum est deformitatis pudicitia. quam inuenies tam miseram, tam sordidam, ut illi satis sit unum adulterorum par, nisi singulis diuisit horas? et non sufficit dies omnibus, nisi apud alium gestata est, apud alium mansit. infrunita et antiqua est, quae nesciat *matrimonium uocari unum adulterium.*

In the last words we plainly hear the emancipated women: to be content with a single adulterer is as old-fashioned and 'slow' as to be a Lucretia. No hint here that in public estimation a wife with a single paramour was guiltier than one with ten. Mart. VI 90 has no point if it is not a paradox. 'Gellia has but one gallant' is her plea: 'Nay, the scandal is only the greater; she is *wife* to two,' half her time, half her care, is given to another than her husband; the personal rivalry between Paris and Menelaus comes out more strongly.

Now come back to III 92. The gist of it is: 'only one has sinned' says she; 'only one shall suffer,' say I. 'My wife,

Gallus, begs me to condone her infidelity: to all the world but one, she is the faithful wife.' When Fr. takes *sed* as in I 117 7 ('aye, and what is more,' Iuv. IV 27, V 147 n. pp. 236, 434, ind. vol. II s. v. *sed;* add Ov. tr. III 11 45, V 5 24) he misses the force of *unum* '*only* one.' Then *hinc ego* cet. '*She* confines herself to one; so do I.' 'This one, what shall I do to him?' 'Shall I not, Gallus, gouge out his two eyes?' a single pair of eyes for one rival, a score for a score: *flagrantior aequo non debet dolor esse uiri, nec uulnere maior.* I take *duos* as '*only* two,' 'a single pair,' and *eruo* like the ind. pres. in *quid ago?* The threat *effodiam oculos* is common in comedy.

III 93 5 ARANEORVM CASSIBVS Ambros. hexäem. V § 24 *si* araneam, *quae tam subtiliter ac docte laxos* casses *suspendit in foribus, sapientiae non reliquit immunem.*

III 93 8 MELIVSQVE RANAE GARRIANT RAVENNATES Sid. ep. I 8 (p. 195 Baret) *ita tamen quod te* Rauennae *felicius exsulantem, auribus Padano culice perfossis,* municipalium ranarum loquax turba *circumsilit.*

III 93 15 see I 34 8 (not, as Fr., 34 38).

„ „ 25 TALASSIONEM XII 42 4 *Talasse.* Catull. 61 127 Ellis.

III 93 26 VSTORQVE TAEDAS PRAEFERAT NOVAE NVPTAE Catull. 59 5 Ellis *ustore.* [Sen.] Oct. 570 *hic mihi iugales* praeferat taedas *deus.* Petron. 26 pr. *iam Psyche puellae caput inuoluerat flammeo, iam embasicoetas* praeferebat facem.

III 95 1 NVMQVAM DICIS HAVE, SED REDDIS, NAEVOLE, SEMPER V 66 1 *saepe salutatus* numquam prior ipse salutas. Hor. ep. I 7 66 *occupat et* saluere iubet prior.

III 95 7 8 ORE LEGOR MVLTO NOTVMQVE PER OPPIDA NOMEN NON EXPECTATO DAT MIHI FAMA ROGO I 1 4—6.

III 95 13 Pers. I 87.

„ 97 1 RVFE cf. 100. IV 82.

JOHN E. B. MAYOR.

THE AGAMEMNON OF AESCHYLUS.

THANKS to Wecklein it is at length possible to study Aeschylus in comfort. Next to an accurate collation of the cardinal MSS, a complete register of the conjectures of critics is the student's prime requisite. Nothing short of a complete register will serve: no man can be trusted to sift good from bad: some editors do not know a correction when they see one, others through childish jealousy of this scholar or that ignore his discoveries, the most candid and the soundest judgment is human and errs. The time lost, the tissues wasted, in doing anew the brainwork done before by others, and all for lack of a book like Wecklein's *Appendix*, are in our brief irreparable life disheartening to think of.

In the ensuing pages I have not set down all or nearly all the corrections which I imagine myself to have made in the *Agamemnon*: I know how easily one is satisfied with one's own conjectures. I have arraigned the MSS only where their delinquencies can be made as clear as daylight, and I have proposed only corrections which I think may possibly convince others as well as myself. For instance, however confident I may feel that in v. 17 Aeschylus wrote not *ὕπνου* but *πόνου*, still I have to own that the former can by hook or by crook be defended, and that the indications which suggest the latter are not decisive; so I leave the reader in peace. I need hardly say that I have not broached conjectures on a tithe of the passages I think corrupt: diagnosis is one thing and healing another: let us keep the precept *ἢ λέγε τι σιγῆς κρεῖσσον ἢ σιγὴν ἔχε*.

The numeration is Wecklein's, which for this play tallies with Dindorf's.

4—7.

ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν
καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς
λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι,
ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν.

I know the stars and the rulers of the seasons, the stars to wit. This of course is one of those sentences which a poet does not write; so most editors with Pauw and Valckenaer bracket v. 7 for spurious. It is a good riddance, that I see, but I do not see on what principles of criticism it can be justified: the Aeschylean archaism *τῶν* never came from the workshop of an interpolator. Fault has of course been found, *ὥστε σύγγονον βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον*, with the initial dactyl, and when the faultfinders have got rid of *Cho.* 215 *καὶ τίνα σύνοισθά μοι καλουμένη βροτῶν*; 984 of the same play *ἥλιος ἄναγνα μητρὸς ἔργα τῆς ἐμῆς*, *Sept.* 640 *ὦ θεομανές τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος*[1] and *fr.* 290, 4, Dind. *ἥλιος ἐν ᾗ πυρωπὸς ἐκλάμψας χθονί*, then they may be heard: not before. But Hermann and others, who suppose themselves to have rescued the verse by trifling with the punctuation, ascribe to commas a cabalistic virtue which did not reside in the seal of Solomon. Mr Margoliouth writes 5—7 as follows: *καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς* | *λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι* | *ἀστέρες ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολαῖς τε τῶν*: the *λαμπροὶ δυνάσται*, he says, are the Pleiades. If a year of sleepless nights has taught the watchman so little astronomy that he singles out this nebulous cluster from the host of heaven to call it *λαμπρός*, he is a signal confutation of his creator's favourite doctrine, *παθήματα μαθήματα*. Nay Mr Margoliouth's own witnesses turn round and testify against him: *ὀλίγαι καὶ ἀφεγγέες, ἐπισκέψασθαι ἀφαυραί*, 'ignis uix tenui longe face fit spectabilis' say Aratus and Auienus; and to set against this damaging evidence Mr Margoliouth can find nothing better than the following citation: 'Cic. Progn. 356 *fugiet cum* lucida *visus Pleias.*' Now the employment of *lucida*, by Cicero or by

[1] *Pers.* 287 and Soph. *Aiax* 1331 seem to answer Mr Verrall's objections to this verse.

any one else, as an epitheton ornans for *Pleias* in a context which does not pit these stars against their fellows, concerns these verses of Aeschylus not a jot; but what is 'Cic. Progn. 356'? If Mr Margoliouth has access to 356 verses of Cicero's *Prognostica,* he is more fortunate than the rest of the world who know only 27. Truth to tell, however, the words which he ascribes to Cicero were written in the seventeenth century after Christ by Hugo Grotius. If Mr Margoliouth cares for Cicero's account of the Pleiades, here it is: *Phaen.* 27 'omnis *parte* locatas | *parua* Vergilias *tenui cum luce* uidebis', 37 'hae *tenues paruo* labentes *lumine* lucent'. And let the Pleiades be as brilliant as you will, masculine they will never be: even Cic. Progn. 356 does not present us with *lucidus Pleias.*

The passage is I believe to be righted, not by the change of a single letter, but by a simpler remedy; the simplest which can be applied to the text of any poet Greek or Roman. We should have heard no evil of the initial dactyl if the MS gave the verses thus:

> ἄστρων κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγυριν,
> λαμπροὺς δυνάστας ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι, 6
> καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς 5
> ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολάς τε τῶν.

The watcher is grown acquainted with the stars, which he likens to a congregation of princes, and chiefly with the down-setting and the uprising of those which bring men winter and summer, the stars of the zodiac. These, by which he reckons the passage of his year's vigil, are singled out from the other stars by καὶ, as in *Pers.* 751 the god of the sea is singled out from the other gods whom Xerxes fought against when he bound the Hellespont: θεῶν δε πάντων ᾤετ', οὐκ εὐβουλίᾳ, | καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν. It should be said that the transposition must have taken place before the time of Achilles Tatius, who quotes vv. 4—6 in the traditional order.

49—59.

> τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν, οἵτ' ἐκπάγλοις
> ἄλγεσι παίδων ὕπατοι λεχέων 50

στροφοδινοῦνται,
πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,
δεμνιοτήρη
πόνον ὀρταλίχων ὀλέσαντες·
ὕπατος δ' ἀίων ἤ τις Ἀπόλλων
ἢ Πὰν ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον
γόον ὀξυβόαν
τῶνδε μετοίκων ὑστερόποινον
πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν.

The learner of Greek, in quest of probable or even plausible reasons for believing that ὕπατοι λεχέων *summi cubilium* means ὑπὲρ λεχέων *super cubilia*, is dismissed by Mr Paley to these references: 'ἐσχάτη χθονὸς Prom. 865, ὑστάτου νεὼς Suppl. 697, ὕπατος χώρας Ζεὺς inf. 492'. The first two of these passages, πόλις ἐσχάτη χθονός and οἴακος ὑστάτου νεώς, prove to him what he could well believe without proof, that such a phrase as θριγκὸς ὕπατος τείχους *a coping which is the highest part of a wall* is Greek; but since vultures on the wing are not the highest part of their eyries the information does not help him. Had he been referred, say, to a passage where a fish following a ship is called ὕστατος νεώς, then he would have been helped; but Greek literature contains no such passage: such a fish is ὕστερος νεώς. To the third reference he turns with keen interest, because it is manifest that Mr Paley's translation of ὕπατος χώρας must differ widely from the usual rendering. But no: Mr Paley translates like everyone else 'supreme over the country'; and the learner of Greek returns with a touch of resentment from his fool's errand.

I propose παίδων ἀπάτῃ λεχαίων, *because their brood is stolen away*. The phrase παίδων λεχαίων finds an exact parallel in *Sept.* 278 δράκοντας ὥς τις τέκνων ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαίων δυσευνάτορας πάντρομος πελειάς, the phrase παίδων ἀπάτῃ in Soph. *Ant.* 630 ἀπάτας λεχέων ὑπεραλγῶν, *wroth that he is cheated of his bride*. My reading is rather an interpretation than an alteration of the MS text: confusions of ἀπ- and ὑπ- are to be counted not by scores but by hundreds; and for century on century οι was identical with η in pronuncia-

tion, and ε with αι. In the passage which I have cited from the *Septem*, λεχαίων had to be restored by Lachmann: the MS there as here gives λεχέων. As for the scansion of λεχαίων as an anapaest, the penultimate αι of πετραῖος is shortened by Sophocles in lyrics, *Ant.* 827, of παλαιός and δίκαιος by Euripides in senarii, *El.* 497 and *Cycl.* 274, of γεραιός by Sophocles in lyrics, *O. C.* 200, and by Euripides in anapaests more than once, of δείλαιος by Sophocles in lyrics, *El.* 849, and by Aristophanes in senarii over and over again. In Soph. *Ant.* 1240 the MS gives τὰ νυμφικὰ | τέλη λαχὼν δείλαιος ἐν Ἅιδου δόμοις: the conjecture εἰν is not to be dreamt of: Sophocles seems to have written λαχὼν ἐν Ἅιδου δείλαιος δόμοις τέλη or δόμοις ἐν Ἅιδου δείλαιος τέλη λαχών. Finally in the *Agamemnon* itself, v. 723, is found εὐφιλόπαιδα καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον: which now is the more prudent, to confer on γεραροῖς an alien and unexampled meaning, unexampled, for *Supp.* 675 proves nothing at all, or to suppose that here, as in the same word in Eur. *Supp.* 43 (γεραιῶν Markland, γεραρῶν MSS), a scribe confused two letters which in old uncials can hardly be distinguished, I and P? I take the second alternative: uiris doctis aliter uisum.

But another check awaits us in v. 58. The dissension about the meaning of τῶνδε μετοίκων is of long standing. The scholiast refers the words to the nestlings, and renders ὑπὲρ τῶν μετοικισθέντων νεοσσῶν, a version which of course is peremptorily forbidden by τῶνδε. Another explanation is given in the scholion on Soph. *O. C.* 934 and reappears, somewhat curtailed, in Suidas: Αἰσχύλος.. ἐν Ἀγαμέμνονι...μετοίκους... εἶπε τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων τοὺς οἰωνοὺς...ἀντὶ τῶν ἐνοίκων. But obviously a poet who writes thus, a poet ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθῃ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄλλο δὲ εἴπῃ, cannot hope that his audience will understand him: he might as well call the birds πελειάδας ἀντὶ αἰγυπιῶν. Mr Paley says that the parent vultures are called μέτοικοι to contrast them with the μέτοικοι of Athens who could obtain redress at law only through προστάται; an allusion frigid in itself, and so carefully obscured that even after Mr Paley has told us it is there one scans the Greek for it in vain.

It will be conceded that a copyist who found in his exemplar the letters *τωνδειμετοκων* would be likely to make Greek of them by transposing the single letter *ι* to the place it holds in the text to-day. Such transpositions, intentional or unintentional, are common enough: in one play I notice these three: *Supp.* 22 *ἱεροστέπτοισι* for *ἐριοστέπτοισι*, 278 *λέγοι πρόσως* for *λέγοις πρόσω*, 961 *ἴσθι μὲν* through *σθιμεν* for *ἔοιγμεν*. But if my hypothetical copyist had been so faithful or so dull as to write what he read, criticism would before now have restored, letter for letter, a phrase which seems to me the most appropriate in the world, *τῶν αἰνοτόκων*. The substitutions δ for *α*, *ει* for *ι*, *μ* for *ν* and *ϵ* for *ο* are so common, not in Aeschylus merely, but all of them in most Greek MSS and some of them in all, that I will not fill with illustrations the pages which might be filled; but take two instances where the *αι* of *αἰνός* by changing to *δει* has wrought further mischief: in Soph. *O. C.* 212 *τόδ'*; *αἰνὰ* is restored by Wunder for *τόδε*; *δεινὰ*, and in Eur. *Med.* 640 *προσβάλοι μ' αἰνὰ* by Verrall for *προσβάλοιμι δεινὰ*[1]. The terms *αἰνοτόκος*, *αἰνοτόκεια*, *αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα* are especially applied to parents rendered wretched by the calamities of their children: *Il.* A 414 *ὤμοι τέκνον ἐμὸν, τί νύ σ' ἔτρεφον αἰνὰ τεκοῦσα*; says Thetis to Achilles; Oppian. *Hal.* V 526 *μητρὶ παρ' αἰνοτόκῳ*, the mother dolphin whose young one the fishermen harpoon; Nonn. *Dion.* II 160 *αἰνοτόκοιο θεημάχον οὔνομα νύμφης*, and XLVIII 428 *Ταντα̃λὶς αἰνοτόκεια*, Niobe in both places. But let me ask especial attention to the employment of *αἰνοτόκεια* in Mosch. IV 27 where Megara relates the death of her children at the hands of Heracles: *ὡς δ' ὄρνις δύρηται ἐπὶ σφετέροισι νεοσσοῖς | ὀλλυμένοις, οὕστ' αἰνὸς ὄφις ἔτι νηπιάχοντας | θάμνοις ἐν πυκινοῖσι κατεσθίῃ· ἣ δὲ κατ' αὐτοὺς | πωτα̃ται κλάζουσα μάλα λιγὺ πότνια μήτηρ | ...ὣς ἐγὼ αἰνοτόκεια φίλον γόνον αἰάζουσα | μαινομένοισι πόδεσσι δόμον κάτα πολλὸν ἐφοίτων.* The poet who wrote this was imitating first and foremost *Iliad* B 308 sqq., but he would naturally remember also Aesch. *Sept.* 278 and this passage of the *Agamemnon*: that he did remember this last, I find another indication besides *αἰνοτόκεια*. In v. 2 of the poem you have

[1] See too *Cho.* 841 *δειματοσταγές* for *αἱματοσταγές*.

ἐκπάγλως ἀχέουσα, in v. 72 ἐκπάγλως ὀλοφύρομαι, in v. 93 δειμαίνω...ἐκπάγλως: in v. 2 is a variant ἀχέεσσι: if ἐκπάγλοις ἀχέεσσι is to be read, it is neither more nor less than a reproduction of the phrase which Blomfield has in *Ag.* 49 restored to Aeschylus, ἐκπάγλοις ἄλγεσι. The MS reading ἐκπατίοις is undoubtedly a word which might have existed, though in face of the resemblance between γλ and τι there is nothing approaching proof that exist it did; but in this passage it gives a totally inadequate sense, and ἐκπάγλοις as well as αἰνοτόκων seems to gain support from Moschus.

97—103.

τούτων λήξασ' ὅ τι καὶ δυνατὸν
καὶ θέμις αἴνει
παιών τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης,
ἥ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει, 100
τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανὴ φανθεῖσ'
ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπληστον
τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα.

Fortunately I need not demonstrate that v. 103 is corrupt. For my own part, if I could believe ὕπατοι λεχέων to be Greek or τῶνδε μετοίκων to be sense, I could believe τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα to be a paroemiac; but some scholars seem to find it the harder feat. Wecklein records over a score of conjectures, not one of which affords a plausible explanation of the phenomena presented by the MS. Those phenomena, as well as the scholion, are explained if Aeschylus wrote this:

ἐλπὶς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἄπληστον
θυμοῦ, λυπησίφρον' ἄτην.

θυμοῦ is of course to be construed with ἀμύνει. But the scholiast construed ἄπληστον θυμοῦ, and therefore paraphrased the words ἄπληστον θυμοῦ λυπησίφρονα by ἥτις ἐστὶ θυμοβόρος λύπη τῆς φρενός, rendering the adjective λυπησίφρονα by the phrase ἥτις ἐστὶ λύπη τῆς φρενός, the phrase ἄπληστον θυμοῦ by the adjective θυμοβόρος. Some reader of Aeschylus, under the same misapprehension, wrote θυμοφθόρον in the margin of his copy: that θυμοφθόρος and θυμοβόρος were to Byzantine

ears identical in meaning is shown by Hesychius *θυμοβόροιο· ψυχοφθόρου*, and Photius *θυμοβόρος· ἡ τὴν ψυχὴν διαφθείρουσα.* A subsequent copyist took this marginal *θυμοφθόρον* to be a correction of *θυμοῦ*, and corrected accordingly. Hardly more than a wrong division of the letters was needed to convert the unfamiliar *λυπησιφρονατην* into *λύπης φρένα τήν*; and since *τήν* could not stand at the end of the line it was transplanted to the beginning, where it flourishes to-day. Hesiod *Op.* 795 *πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῷ | τετράδ' ἀλεύασθαι φθίνοντός θ' ἱσταμένου τε | ἄλγεα θυμοβορεῖν*, and Theognis 1323 *σκέδασον δὲ μερίμνας | θυμοβόρους*, were perhaps the passages which suggested to Aeschylus his *ἀμύνει θυμοῦ* and his *φροντίδ' ἄπλητον*, and to the scholiast his *θυμοβόρος*.

I learn from Wecklein that *λυπησίφρονα* was detected three centuries ago by Scaliger: how he completed the verse I do not know. Similar compounds with similar force are *θελξίφρων* Eur. *Bacch.* 404 and *ῥηξίφρων* Hesych.

131—135.

χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ
Πριάμου πόλιν ἅδε κέλευθος
πάντα δὲ πύργων
κτήνη προσθετὰ δημιοπληθῆ
μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον. 135

Most editors adopt in v. 134 the conjecture *πρόσθε τὰ* which appears in the Florentine apograph; but how to translate it they cannot agree. Half take *πρόσθε* in a temporal sense, which makes Calchas a lying prophet: if the wealth of Troy was exhausted before its fall, how comes it that Cassandra was *πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον ἄνθος*? Half, giving *κτήνη* its usual meaning of *cattle*, construe *πρόσθε πύργων in front of the walls*, which leaves the lines no point whatever: the Iliad shows that after nine years' siege neither Trojans nor Greeks were lacking in flocks and herds, whether those flocks and herds were or were not *πρόσθε πύργων*. So if *πρόσθε* is local the lines are trivial, if it is temporal they are not true. But against both renderings lies the further and fatal objection that they refer the sentence to circumstances of the leaguer

when it must of necessity be referred to the taking of the town. It was the fall, not the siege, of Troy which depended on averting an *ἄγα θεόθεν*.

For these or for other reasons Pauw and Hermann prefer to write *πρόσθετα*, which indeed is virtually the reading of the MS, as many scribes preserve in compounds of *θετός* the accentuation of the simple adjective. But Weil justly observes that *πρόσθετα* cannot, as Hermann would have it, mean *congesta*, which is by no means the same thing as *additicia*. If then there were no other meaning of *πρόσθετα* the MS must be abandoned. But there is another and a most appropriate meaning. Over and over again in this play the Trojan war is likened to a lawsuit in which the Greeks prosecute the Trojans: 41 *Πριάμου μέγας ἀντίδικος Μενέλαος*, 458 *προδίκοις Ἀτρείδαις*, 539 *ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἁρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην | τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἥμαρτε κτλ.*, 804 *δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ | κλύοντες ἀνδροκνῆτας Ἰλίου φθορᾶς | ἐς αἱματηρὸν τεῦχος οὐ διχορρόπως | ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει | ἐλπὶς προσείει χεῖρας οὐ πληρουμένῳ*: in 537 too *συντελής* seems to mean *paying joint penalty*. Now *πρόσθετος*, as the lexicons will show, has the technical meaning *addictus*, surrendered to a creditor. It is noticeable that the scholiast explains *κτήνη* by *κτήματα*, and that this very phrase *κτήματα πρόσθετά τινι ποιεῖν* occurs in Boeckh's *Corp. Inscr.* 2691. I think then that *πρόσθετα* is not only sound but exceedingly apt.

But *πύργων κτήνη* is a strange phrase. The wealth of the Trojans, the wealth of Troy, I could understand: the wealth of the fortifications, no. And this is not the only difficulty. The strophic verses answering 131—135 are 110—114:

ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν
δίθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἥβας
ξύμφρονα τὰν γᾶν,
πέμπει ξὺν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι
θούριος ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν.

How are we to amend *τὰν γᾶν*? Blomfield writes *ταγόν*, Hermann *τάγαν*: I am bound to suppose that these scholars attached some meaning to the phrase *a unanimous captain*, but

what that meaning may have been I cannot divine. Neither is it possible, in Greece or anywhere else, for two persons to compose one *ταγός* or one *τάγης*: in v. 41 *ἀντίδικος* is of course *Μενέλαος*, not *Μενέλαος ἠδ' Ἀγαμέμνων*. If with Dindorf we write *ξύμφρονε ταγώ* we get a meaning, but we stray some distance to get it. The correction which is instantly suggested by the requirements of the sense is as old as the earliest apographs of the Medicean: *ταγάν*. Hesychius has *ταγαῖς· ἀρχαῖς, ἡγεμονίαις*, which is precisely the meaning wanted: the two Atridae compose one *ταγή* as they compose one *κράτος*. Dactyls are often varied with tribrachs by Pindar in Doric melodies, just as lyric anapaests are so varied in passages like Eur. *I. T.* 130, where see Monk and Dindorf. In the notation of J. H. H. Schmidt, which is familiar to Englishmen, the verse *ξύμφρονα ταγάν* will be $-:\cup\cup< \mid -$, see his *Leitfaden* § 12. But of course *ταγάν* in the strophe and *πύργων* in the antistrophe cannot live together: which shall be the victim? The inappropriate, not the appropriate word.

πάντα δὲ Φρυγῶν
κτήνη πρόσθετα δημιοπληθῆ
μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον.

The confusion of an aspirate with its tenuis is among the commonest of those errors of the ear to which copyists are subject: an apposite and undisputed instance of *π* for *φ* is *Cho.* 417 *πάντες* for *φάντες*. Another of their favourite tricks is to reverse the order of two consecutive letters: disregarding such perpetual confusions as *θράσος* and *θάρσος*, *κραδία* and *καρδία*, I take the following examples from Aeschylus alone: *P. V.* 934 *προσδάρκοι* for *προσδράκοι*, *Pers.* 689 *ῥοθιάζοντες* for *ὀρθιάζοντες*, *Supp.* 372 *ἐκπνοεῖν* for *ἐκπονεῖν*, 703 *θεαί τ'* for *θείατ'*, *Ag.* 117 *ἀργίας* for *ἀργᾶς*, 797 *πόνος* for *πνόος*, 1204 *βαρύνεται* for *ἀβρύνεται*, *Cho.* 270 *κἀξοθριάζων* for *κἀξορθιάζων*, *Eum.* 260 *χερῶν* for *χρεῶν*. It is interesting to note that Mr Margoliouth has conjectured *Τευκρῶν*, as it counts for something that two minds should independently require the same meaning.

The adjective *δημιοπληθῆ* is one of those many poetical compounds in which the second element is purely ornamental:

just as *ἀρσενοπληθῆ* in *Supp.* 29 means simply *ἄρσενα*, so *δημιοπληθῆ* here means simply *δήμια*; it would be wrong I think to say that it means even *δήμια πολλά*. But be that as it may, Mr Margoliouth by defending *ἀβροτίμων προκαλυμμάτων* is estopped from impugning *κτήνη δημιοπληθῆ*.

413—444.

λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίστορας str.
κλόνους τε καὶ λογχίμους ναυβάτας θ' ὁπλισμοὺς
ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίῳ φθοράν 415
βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν
ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πουλὺ δ' ἄνστενον
τάδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφῆται·
'ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι,
ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλάνορες. 420
πάρεστι κοίτας ἀτίμας ἀλοίδορος,
ἄπιστος ἐμφανῶν ἰδεῖν.
πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας
φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν.
εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν 425
ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρί,
ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις
ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.
ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πειθήμονες ant.
πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν. 430
μάταν γὰρ, εὖτ' ἂν ἐς θιγὰς δοκᾶν ὁρᾷ,
παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν
βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον
πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις.'
τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφεστίους ἄχη 435
τάδ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα·
τοπᾶν δ', ἀφ' Ἕλλανος αἴας ξυνορμένοις,
ποθεινὰ τλησικαρδίοις
δόμων ἑκάς που πρέπει.
πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἦπαρ· 440
οἵους μὲν γὰρ ἔπεμψαν
οὐδὲν, ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν

τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἑκά-
στου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.

414 κλ. τε καὶ λ. ναυβάτας θ' H. L. Ahrens, κλ. λ. τε καὶ ναυβάτας Flor. 417 πουλὺ Arnaldus, πολὺ Flor. ἄνστενον scripsi, ἀνέστενον Flor. 418 τάδ' Auratus, τόδ' Flor. 421 κοίτας ἀτίμας scripsi, σιγᾶς ἄτιμος Flor. 422 ἄπιστος ἐμφανῶν Margoliouth, ἄδιστος ἀφεμένων Flor. 429 πειθήμονες scripsi, πενθήμονες Flor. 431 ἐς θιγὰς δοκᾶν scripsi, ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν Flor. ὁρᾷ Scholefield, ὁρᾶν Flor. 435 ἐφεστίους Vossius, ἐφ' ἑστίας Flor. 437 τοπᾶν scripsi, τὸ πᾶν Flor. Ἕλλανος Bamberger, Ἑλλάδος Flor. 438 ποθεινὰ τλησικαρδίοις scripsi, πένθεια τλησικάρδιος Flor. 439 ἑκάς που H. L. Ahrens, ἑκάστου Flor. 441 οἵους G. C. W. Schneider, οὓς Flor. ἔπεμψαν scripsi, ἔπεμψεν Flor. 442 οὐδὲν scripsi, οἶδεν Flor.

To save space I have written down this passage at once in the form to which I propose to bring it: I will now render an account of the changes made.

417. I think every edition reads here πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον from Triclinius' conjecture; but how then arose the reading of the uninterpolated MS? I restore the metre simply by restoring the epic forms which the copyist translated into the common dialect. The form πουλύ should not be denied to Aeschylus: he has πολεῖ and πολέα, both Sophocles and Euripides have πολλός, and πουλύπους is the regular Attic form: for ἄνστενον see v. 1552 κάππεσε, κάτθανε. I will not quarrel with anyone who prefers πολλὰ, but ἄνστενον must I think be read.

418. It seems that δόμων προφῆται is taken to mean the seers belonging to the household; but the verses 419—434 needed no seer to utter them, for not one word of prophecy do they contain: they contain merely, as Mr Paley says, speculations on Menelaus' state of mind. And what is more, I altogether deny that προφήτης in tragedy can mean μάντις. If I may trust the lexicons, προφήτης and προφῆτις occur in tragedy eleven times. In eight of these instances the meaning *interpres* is beyond all doubt, the gen. of the person or thing interpreted being expressed or implied: Aesch. *Eum.* 19 Διὸς προφήτης, Eur. *Or.* 364 Νηρέως προφήτης, *Bacch.* 211 προφήτης λόγων,

551 Διόνυσε, σοὺς προφήτας, *Rhes.* 972 Βάκχου προφήτης, *Ion*, 321 and 1322 Φοίβου προφῆτις, 42 κυρεῖ...προφῆτις ἐσβαίνουσα μαντεῖον θεοῦ, where, even if θεοῦ is not to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with προφῆτις and μαντεῖον, the word is correctly employed as the title of Apollo's interpreter, the Delphic priestess. There remain, besides the present passage, two others where προφήτης is construed *seer:* these I will now examine. In Aesch. *Ag.* 1083 sq. we read: ἦμεν κλέος σου μαντικὸν πεπυσμένοι, | ἠμὲν προφήτας δ' οὔτινας ματεύομεν: of course ἠμὲν has been foisted in from the line above. The second verse is rendered by Mr Paley and almost all other commentators *we are not on the look-out for prophets:* a version which not only imputes to the coryphaeus highly uncivil and rather impious language, but is entirely uncalled-for. The words are explained with perfect correctness by the scholiast, though no one but Blomfield has listened to him: τοὺς λέξοντας ἡμῖν περὶ σοῦ· αὐτοὶ γὰρ αὐτόπται γινόμεθα. Cassandra has just scented in the palace the banquet of Thyestes; and the coryphaeus exclaims: We had been *told* of your divining power before, but now we seek for none to *tell* us of it: we witness it at first hand. Aeschylus probably wrote ἤδη προφήτας δ' οὔτινας ματεύομεν: but that is by the way. Finally I come to *Sept.* 596 sqq.: οὕτως δ' ὁ μάντις, υἱὸν Οἰκλέους λέγω, | σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνήρ, | μέγας προφήτης, ἀνοσίοισι συμμιγεὶς | θρασυστόμοισιν ἀνδράσιν...Διὸς θέλοντος ξυγκαθελκυσθήσεται. Here the rendering *seer* is necessary if the text is sound. But the fact that this is a solitary exception, for in *Ag.* 418 as I said at the outset this meaning even if permissible would be inappropriate, is of itself some presumption against the soundness of the text; and it is not the only presumption. The words εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ occur at the end of v. 589 only eight lines above; and the nearness of that verse not only makes the repetition in v. 597 unpleasant, but also, if Aeschylus wrote σώφρων, δίκαιος, ἀγαθὸς, εὐσεβὴς, θεοῦ (or θεῶν or Διὸς) μέγας προφήτης, explains the corruption by the wandering of the scribe's eye from the latter εὐσεβὴς to the former. I therefore, to return to my starting point, give to προφῆται in *Ag.* 418 precisely the sense it has in v. 1084: δόμων προφῆται are οἱ λέγοντες ἡμῖν περὶ δόμων, purveyors of

gossip about the royal family: of course *οἶκος αὐτὸς, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι, σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν*, but in default of that the Argive people had to get their news through *προφῆται*, retailers at second hand.

421. Here, first of all, the metrical dissension between strophe and antistrophe has to be removed. If the scansion of the two lines as handed down be compared

str. ∪ – ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – ∪ – 421
ant. ∪ – ∪ – ∪ ∪ – – ∪ – ∪ – 437

it will be seen that the simplest and most rhythmical cure will be to alter the quantity of the 8th syllable in the strophic and of the 5th in the antistrophic verse. The latter change is merely the change of a letter, Ἕλλανος for Ἑλλάδος, and this easy and graceful emendation of Bamberger's has naturally found much favour. Lighted by this and by Mr Margoliouth's beautiful restoration of v. 422 I have corrected the strophic passage thus: *there he stands, reviling not his dishonoured bed, believing not what is plain to see.* Menelaus does not upbraid his wife's unfaithfulness, nay he refuses to believe her unfaithful. *πάρεστι* sc. *ὁ ἀνὴρ τῷ λέχει*, as is readily understood from *λέχος* and *φιλάνορες* in the preceding verse. For the form *ἀτίμας* compare in the first place *ὑπερπονηρίας* only two lines below, and also *Sept.* 105 *εὐφιλήταν*, 761 *ἁρπαξάνδραν*, *Pers.* 600 *περικλύστα*, *Ag.* 1104 *ξυναιτία*, *Cho.* 68 *παναρκέτας*, 99 *μεταίτιαι*, 617 *ἀθανάτας*, *Eum.* 268 *μητροφόνας*, 792 *δύσοιστα*; perhaps the *ἀτίτᾳ* of the MS means *ἀτίτῃ* not *ἀτίται* in *Ag.* 72, and *θελκτηρία* is to be read in *Cho.* 666; in *Supp.* 63 Hermann with high probability writes *κιρκηλάτας*; in *Ag.* 796 I should be disposed to read *νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλης* | *εὔφρων πνόος εὖ τελέσασιν*, as *ἀφίλως εὔφρων* is a phrase which conveys no meaning to me. The transmutation of κοιτας into ιccιγας and the consequent loss of the letters ιc in the sequence παρεστηccιγας are errors of the easiest sort: the confusion of o with c and of τ with γ I need not illustrate; but a word on the confusion in Aeschylus of κ with ιc. In *Cho.* 896 is found *ὠκὺ* for *ὦι σὺ* (Robortellus), in *Sept.* 927 *κακὸς* for *ἴσος* (Weil) through *κος*, in *Eum.* 178 *ἐκείνου* for *εἶσιν οὗ* (Kirchhoff),

in 864 *ἱδρύσηι κάρη* for *ἱδρύσηις* Ἄρη (Stephanus); an especially noticeable instance is *Cho.* 160 where, for *Σκυθικά*, the MS has *σκυθιτά* (ησ): that is, the scribe wrote *τ* in error and added *κ* above as a correction, and this *κ* was corrupted by successive copyists first to *ισ*, then to *ησ*. In *Ag.* 106 I think Mr Margoliouth tries to extract the right sense from the corrupt *ἐκτελέων*, but his conjecture is unsatisfactory: Aeschylus seems to have written *ἀνδρῶν εἷς τελέων*, though the context is so obscure that we cannot speak with certainty[1]. There is less doubt however about a scholion on the same passage explaining *θεόθεν πειθώ* by *τὴν εἰς θεοὺς πειθώ*: not even a scholiast could suppose that *θεόθεν* meant *εἰς θεούς*: he wrote *ἐκ θεοῦ*. As to v. 422, Mr Margoliouth's alterations are very slight: for the confusion of Π and Δ see *Sept.* 654 *προσείπε* for *προσείδε*: such transpositions of letters as *αφεμ* for *εμφα* are common enough, whether accompanied, as here, by the addition of a letter, or by the subtraction of a letter as in *μακιστῆρα* for *μαστικτῆρα Supp.* 475, or by the change of a letter as in *ἐκμετρούμενος* for *τεκμαρούμενος* Soph. *O. T.* 795.

424. Those commentators whose opinion I can ascertain take *φάσμα* to be nom.: I think it is acc., the subject of *δόξει* being the same as the subject of *πάρεστι*, Menelaus. The tense is what may be called the conjectural future, = *οἶμαι δοκεῖ, methinks he sees in fancy a wraith queen of the palace,* just as in v. 349 *ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην* = *οἶμαι εὕδουσι,* for the night is passing away as Clytaemestra speaks. We have the same idiom in English: *he will be crossing the Channel by now;* and it is Latin too: Iuu. I 126 *quiescet.*

429. I suppose we are all in the habit of thinking *πενθήμονες* a very poetical epithet and are ready to resent its ex-

[1] I would now read *κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὅδιον κύρος αἴσιον, ἀνδρῶν εἷς τελέων*: *κύρος hap* is to *κύρμα* as *πρᾶγος* to *πρᾶγμα*: the scholiast explains *τὸ συμβὰν αὐτοῖς σημεῖον ἐξιοῦσιν.* For the confusion with *κράτος* see *Ag.* 10 (Margoliouth) and Soph. *O. T.* 1196 (Heimsoeth): that the MSS of Aeschylus and Aristophanes should agree in error is a strange accident due to the extreme rarity of the word.

pulsion as the act of a Vandal. Let us see: the word must mean one of two things. It may mean *of sorrowful aspect:* this is so thoroughly aimless that I suppose I may dismiss it at once: there is no assignable reason why the visions of Helen should always or ever wear a sorrowful look. It may mean, and it is commonly taken to mean, *causing sorrow.* This is not pointless like the other rendering; but it is something worse. That the visions cause sorrow is true; but how do they cause it? Not by their arrival—that causes joy—but by their departure. To call them πενθήμονες at the outset is to anticipate and utterly to ruin the exquisite turn of ματαίαν following hard on χάριν and echoed by μάταν, the key-note of the mournful cadence ensuing. If I had my own taste only to trust to, I would hold my peace; but hear Euripides. He in *Alc.* 348—356 is imitating this passage: the κολοσσῶν of Aeschylus suggests to him σοφῇ δὲ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας τὸ σὸν | εἰκασθὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκταθήσεται | ᾧ προσπεσοῦμαι κ.τ.λ.; and then he goes on ἐν δ' ὀνείρασιν | φοιτῶσά μ' εὐφραίνοις ἄν· ἡδὺ γὰρ φίλους | κἂν νυκτὶ λεύσσειν, ὅντιν' ἂν παρῇ χρόνον. That is just what I said above: the visions themselves give joy, while they stay: what gives sorrow is their evanescence. I think then that whatever Euripides found in the text of Aeschylus he did not find πενθήμονες: the word that was in the text I will try to recover from another imitator. Propertius was familiar with this stasimon of the *Agamemnon:* one famous passage suggested to him III 12 13 'neue aliquid de te flendum referatur in urna: | sic redeunt, illis qui cecidere locis'; and in writing the poem whose mangled remains they call the Queen of Elegies he naturally resorted to this locus classicus for the griefs of the widower. There the dead Cornelia speaks thus, 81 sqq. 'sat tibi sint noctes, quas de me, Paule, fatiges, | somniaque in faciem credita saepe meam; | atque, ubi secreto nostra ad simulacra loqueris, | ut responsurae singula uerba iace.' In these lines *simulacra* comes from Aeschylus' κολοσσῶν; and *somnia in faciem credita meam,* Latin of an audacious sort which no Roman durst permit himself except he were translating or mistranslating Greek, reads to me like a rendering of ὀνειρόφαντοι πειθήμονες δόξαι, visions which

persuade him that they are Helen[1]. Let me add that Euripides' *ἐν ὀνείρασι φοιτῶσα* awakes in me more than a suspicion that he read in his Aeschylus not *ὀνειρόφαντοι* but *ὀνειρόφοιτοι*. For this confusion see *P. V.* 684 where the Medicean has *νυκτίφαντα* and other MSS *νυκτίφοιτα*, and *Ag.* 82 where it is impossible to say whether we ought to read *ἡμερόφαντον* with Triclinius or *ἡμερόφοιτον* with H. L. Ahrens for the corrupt *ἡμερόφατον*. But *ὀνειρόφαντοι* is faultless in itself, so I keep it: *πενθήμονες* is not faultless.

431. As this line runs in the MS it has no construction, and the usual remedy is Scholefield's *ὁρᾷ*. But if this mends the grammar it does little indeed to make sense. To begin with: I thought we were talking about Menelaus; but who is this *τις* to whom we are now introduced? To drift off into a generalisation is murder to the noble verses; and I trust there is no man so void of discrimination as to adduce the usage in Soph. *El.* 1406 *βοᾷ τις ἔνδον*, or Ar. *Ran.* 664 *ἤλγησέν τις*. Secondly, *ἐσθλά* is *good things*, a term which may indeed include, wretchedly inadequate though it be, the apparition of an absent wife, but which includes a thousand things besides, to all of which the sequel must perforce apply and cannot apply without extreme absurdity. Extremely absurd I call it to say that whenever a man sees good things in sleep they slip through his hands: suppose he sees the council of the elders, or the temples of the gods, or the gods themselves, is it through his hands that they slip when they vanish away? Thirdly, the words *διὰ χερῶν* demand that some mention of an attempt to *grasp* the apparitions shall have preceded. Keck's conjecture *εἶτ' ἂν...ὁρᾶν* is designed to meet this last difficulty, but leaves the others untouched. The reading given above, I hope, removes them all: *when he looks to touch the phantoms*. For *ὁρῶ ἔς τι* see Eur. *frag.* 161 Dind. *ἀνδρὸς δ' ὁρῶντος εἰς Κύπριν νεανίου | ἀφύλακτος ἡ τήρησις*, *I. A.* 1624 *στρατὸς πρὸς πλοῦν ὁρᾷ*. For *δοκή* = *δόκησις* see Hermann's note on the preceding

[1] *πειθήμονες* is supported also by Meleager *Anth. Gr.* v 166 *ἆρα μένει στοργῆς ἐμὰ λείψανα καὶ τὸ φίλημα | μνημόσυνον ψυχρᾷ θάλπετ' ἐν εἰκασίᾳ; | ἆρά γ' ἔχει σύγκοιτα τὰ δάκρυα κἀμὸν ὄνειρον | ψυχαπάτην στέρνοις ἀμφιβαλοῦσα φιλεῖ;*

verse: he there proposes to substitute *δοκαί* for *δόξαι*, but Ahrens' transposition in the strophe seems the more rhythmical amendment. I cannot doubt that Karsten rightly introduces this word in v. 970 *δοκὰν δυσκρίτων ὀνειράτων* for the unintelligible *δίκαν* of the MS: Euripides seems to imitate the phrase in the *δόκημα ὀνείρων* of *H. F.* 111. For *θιγή* do not see the lexicons: it is not there. Aeschylus however had no foreknowledge of this circumstance, nor would such foreknowledge have deterred him from the use or coinage of a word which was his by indefeasible birthright to use or coin. Scholars who dispute either of these propositions are free to tell us that we must not introduce new words: scholars who do not dispute them are not free to tell us so. It is of course necessary that the would-be emender of Aeschylus should be grounded in the elementary laws of the Greek language; but so much being granted, the addition of new *ἅπαξ εἰρημένα* to the scores already registered is not merely safe but imperatively necessary. It is manifest that the more unfamiliar a word is to a copyist the more likely is he to corrupt it; and thus no word runs such risk of corruption as a word which occurs but once. Now for the history of the error here. The incessant confusion of Γ and Τ produced *εσθιτας*; this by the inversion of three letters became *εσθα τις*; the scribe then hastened to make Greek of the no-word *εσθα*, if indeed the Λ be not a mere iteration of the A. This inversion of three letters is a corruption with examples of which MSS, Greek and Latin, abound; but I confine myself to the Medicean MS. Here then I find Aesch. *P. V.* 55 *λαβών* for *βαλών*, *Ag.* 762 *κότον* for *τόκου*, 1367 *μυθοῦσθαι* for *θυμοῦσθαι*, *Eum.* 500 *προσμένει* for *προσνεμεῖ*, 719 *μένων* for *νέμων*, 730 *δαίμονας* for *διανομάς*, Soph. *Ai.* 1307 *λέγων* for *γελῶν*, *Ant.* 718 *θυμῷ* for *μύθῳ*, 965 *ἠρέθιζε* for *ἠθέριζε*, *El.* 567 *ἐξεκίνησεν* for *ἐξενίκησεν*, *Phil.* 680 *ἔλαβ' ὁ* for *ἔβαλεν*, 1429 *ἐκβαλών* for *ἐκλαβών*, *O. C.* 475 *βαλών* for *λαβών*. In Aesch. *Pers.* 164 sq. we read *καί με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς· ἐς δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ | μῦθον, οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς οὖσ' ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι, | μὴ κτλ.*, where *ἐμαυτῆς* has no meaning; neither in Weil's conjecture *μῦθον οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς οὐδ' ἀδείμαντον* can I get any satisfactory sense from the words

οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς : I propose ἐς δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ, | θυμὸν οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς οὖσ' ἀδείμαντος. Often too, as in our case of ΑΤΙ for ΙΓΑ, this inversion is united with the change of one letter into another letter of like shape or sound : Aesch. *P. V.* 397 προθυμεῖσθαι and προμηθεῖσθαι, 448 βαθύς for βυθός, *Ag.* 1605 ἐπὶ δέκ' ἀθλίῳ for ἔλιπε κἀθλίῳ, 1621 γῆρας for ῥῖγος, *Cho.* 470 ἑκάς for ἄκος, Soph. *O. T.* 48 προθυμίας and προμηθίας, *O. C.* 550 ἀπεστάλη for ἐφ' ἁστάλη. The alteration of δοκᾶν to δοκῶν is no marvel: a Doric gen. of this declension may count itself lucky if the scribe neither translates it to the common form nor transmutes it to an acc. sing. With the adscript iota ὁρᾶι is in our MSS barely distinguishable from ὁρᾶν. And now turn to Milton's sonnet on his late espoused saint and see how, though the dust of centuries lay thick upon the page of Aeschylus, one great poet unwittingly repeated the very phrase of another: 'But lo, *as to embrace me she inclined*, I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night.'

434. πτεροῖς and κελεύθοις cannot both have been written by Aeschylus; but I hardly know which of the rival conjectures to accept: perhaps Karsten's κελεύθων is the simplest.

436. ὑπερβατώτερα is just defensible, only just; though the numerous editors who retain it do not seem to be aware that it needs defence. The word ὑπερβατός nowhere else means *passing* or anything like it; and if it did, you would expect τῶνδ' ὑπερβατά *passing these*, not τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα *more passing than these*. Still ὑπερβατός undeniably might have an active sense, and might possibly, by the same inaccuracy which gives us *more transcendent* in English, have a comparative and superlative. But that Aeschylus wrote this when by writing ὑπερκοπώτερα he might have written what was more forcible, more like himself, and in our MSS most easily corrupted to ὑπερβατώτερα, I doubt.

437—439. If τὸ πᾶν ξυνορμένοις could mean πᾶσι τοῖς ξυνορμένοις, if ξυνορμένοις πρέπει could mean πρέπει, τὸ τῶν ξυνορμένων μέρος, if πένθεια could mean πένθος, if τλησικάρδιος could mean καρδιόδηκτος, if δόμων could mean ἐν δόμοις, if these five impossibilities were possible, then the sense, if sense it can be called, which commentators elicit from these

three lines, would be elicited legitimately. But as things are it is elicited by casting down the foundations of Greek. In particular, the verse *πένθεια τλησικάρδιος* is perhaps the most appalling sight which the MSS of Aeschylus have to shew. When *σέβεια, πάθεια, θυμία, πραξία* and the like are words, then *πένθεια* will be a word: till then it is a mere collocation of letters. *δυσπένθεια* is a word: it is found in no Greek author, but it is a word: *πένθεια* would remain no word were it found in fifty Greek authors. Scholars who tamely accept from a scribe such monstrosities as this, or as *εὔπραξις* in v. 267, are not entitled to laugh when Prof. Newman presents them with *ὁσιογέννημα.* But admit for an instant the inadmissible, admit that *πένθεια* can mean *πένθος*: to a substantive of that meaning the adjective *τλησικάρδιος* can by no possibility be applied, neither can *τλησίφρων, ταλακάρδιος, ταλάφρων, ταλαίφρων, ταλασίφρων, τλήθυμος* or *φρεσὶν τλήμων*: both their two significations forbid it. As to the interpretation of the passage as a whole, all commentators, I believe, supply Ἀχαιοῖς with *ξυνορμένοις.* The antithesis between *κατ' οἴκους ἐφεστίους* and *ἀφ' Ἕλλανος αἴας* pointed by *μὲν* in v. 435 and *δὲ* in v. 437 should have taught them to supply not Ἀχαιοῖς but Ἀτρείδαις. With this for a clue, vv. 437—9 can be mended by the slightest of changes: *These are the sorrows of the hearth, ay and worse than these; but, I guess, since quitting Hellas, these sorrows look like joy in their eyes, amid their sufferings far from home.* Great as was the misery of the Atridae in their deserted palace, yet their misery at Troy, to see their followers dying around them and to hear the threatening murmurs of the survivors, is so much greater that they wish the former sorrow back: it seems desirable by contrast. So Sophocles says *O. C.* 1697 *πόθος τοι καὶ κακῶν ἄρ' ἦν τις*: Euripides puts the same thought in still stronger language, *Tro.* 431 sqq., *δύστηνος οὐκ οἶδ' οἷά νιν μένει παθεῖν· | ὡς χρυσὸς αὐτῷ τἀμὰ καὶ Φρυγῶν κακὰ | δόξει ποτ' εἶναι.* It is of course to Mr Verrall's paper in vol. IX. of this Journal that I owe *τοπᾶν*, a lost verb which has the meaning of the cognate *τοπάζειν.* For the infin. of a like verb used in like manner (*τοπᾶν = ὡς τοπᾶν*) see Soph. *O. T.* 82 *ἀλλ', εἰκάσαι μὲν, ἡδύς*: so very often

δοκεῖν ἐμοί. If any one is afraid of the word I counsel him to take Karsten's τόπων, which also makes good sense. Since ο and ε are hardly to be known from one another, the only difference between ποθεινά and πένθεια is the position of ν: of this corruption I spoke in my note on v. 58. As for the correction ἑκάς που, in which I find myself forestalled by Ahrens, π becomes τ if the ink of the two downstrokes runs together: see Wecklein's *app. crit.* on v. 1416 'εὐτόκοις, forte ut videtur ex εὐπόκοις factum, g.'

440. Those who render θιγγάνει as if it were χωρεῖ should favour us with a parallel. If the words are sound, as I think they are, we must understand αὐτῶν with Blomfield. I would not alter θιγγάνει, nor would I propose πόλλ' ἀγοῖν.

441 sq. The sum total of the changes which I have made here is no greater departure from the MS than Porson's insertion of τις after γὰρ, and the sense I surely improve: in the vulgate you must strain οἶδεν to make it mean μέμνηται and then your imagination must furnish ἄγνωτα with τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς, to extort your antithesis. The construction of my text will be τοιοῦτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν, οἵους ἔπεμψαν ἑκάστου δόμοι, εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφικνεῖται, τεύχη δὲ καὶ σποδὸς ἀντὶ φωτῶν: *for unto each one's home there returns nought in the semblance of those whom it sent forth, but arms only and ashes in lieu of men.* The frequent confusion of ι and υ accounts for the corruption of οἵους and οὐδὲν both, and the inflexion of ἔπεμψαν was accommodated to that of οἶδεν, since metre forbade the converse error.

498—504.

κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὁρῶ κατάσκιον
κλάδοις ἐλαίας· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις
πηλοῦ ξύνουρος δισσία κόνις τάδε,
ὡς οὔτ' ἄναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίων φλόγα
ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρὸς
ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων—
τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγον.

The coryphaeus catching sight of the herald sees also in the distance a cloud of dust which he supposes to be raised by the returning army; and the return of the army means something

decisive, either victory or defeat. The crew of Agamemnon's ship, if Aeschylus followed Homer, would be 120 men; and these, together with an *ἁμαξήρης θρόνος* for Agamemnon and Cassandra, would raise in clear dry southern air a cloud of dust to be seen a great way off. No doubt to us the allusion seems obscurely worded; but I fancy the Attic audience recognised an old friend. Of the plays of Aeschylus only a tithe has come down to us, but in that tithe we find *Supp.* 186 *ὁρῶ κόνιν, ἄναυδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ*, and *Sept.* 79 sqq. *μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών. | ῥεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότας. | αἰθερία κόνις με πείθει φανεῖσ' | ἄναυδος σαφὴς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.* How many repetitions of the phrase lie foundered in the wreck of antiquity we cannot tell; but it may be guessed that by the time the poet wrote this play—three years before his death—he had so familiarised his hearers with the conception of *κόνις* as an *ἄγγελος στρατοῦ* that he could dispense with an explicit reminder. The addition *κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος* is mere ornament like the *αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν* of *Sept.* 481. What coherent sense those scholars who take *κόνις* to be the stains of travel on the herald's dress suppose themselves to extract from the passage, I have vainly tried to ascertain.

My business however is with the *σοι* of v. 501. Mr Margoliouth observes '*σοι* tibi, Clytemnestrae.' That *σοι* means *tibi* is very true, and it is equally indisputable that only Clytaemestra can here be signified. But that is the very reason why *σοι* cannot be right; for it is as certain as anything about Greek plays can be certain that Clytaemestra is not now on the stage. The conjectures *του, μοι, τοι* and *γ' αὖ* bear witness to a due appreciation of the difficulty; and if the reader is satisfied with any one of them he will not trouble himself about me when I propose *ὡς οὐκ ἄναυδος οὗτος ἀνδαίων φλόγα ὕλης ὀρείας σημανεῖ κτλ.* The phrase *ἀνδαίων φλόγα* is chosen to recall the phrase in the *ἀγγαρήιον* at v. 317 *πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδαίοντες ἀφθόνῳ μένει | φλογὸς μέγαν πώγωνα.* In the MSS of Aeschylus the wrongful omission or insertion of *ν* after a vowel is exceedingly common: it would seem indeed that the practice of denoting *ν* merely by a superscript line, usually confined to final syllables, must in some ancestral codex have prevailed in

all parts of words alike. The confusion of *α* with the diphthong *οι*, which is simply *α* resolved into its constituent elements, is of course a very frequent error. The facility with which *αν* might so pass through *α* to *οι* is illustrated by the confusions of *-φαντος* and *-φοιτος* which I adduced on v. 429. Thus *οὗτος ἀνδαίων* is scarcely distinguishable from *οὔτε σοι δαίων*, and *οὔτε* of course demanded the change of *οὐκ* to *οὔτ'*: in fact *οὐκ*, *οὔτ'* and *οὐδ'* are for ever interchanged even when such excuse is absent.

550—552.

ΚΗ. *ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις.*
ΧΟ. *ὡς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός μ' ἀναστένειν.*
ΚΗ. *πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπῆν στύγος στρατῷ;*

The last word is of course precisely the reverse of what we want: we want *πόλει* or the like. The only conjecture which merits consideration is Heimsoeth's *λεῴ* (he writes it *λεῷ*), on which word he supposes *στρατῷ* was a mistaken gloss. My objection to this is that if Aeschylus wrote *λεῴ* he was gravely in fault for using so ambiguous a word: *λαός* in the *Iliad* is the regular name for the army at Troy. I should therefore much prefer to read *πάτρᾳ*. The close likeness of one form of *π* to *στ* is notorious, the confusion of *α* and *ω* common enough, and such transposition as has here been suffered by *ρ* I have already illustrated: *πατρᾳ*, *στατρᾳ*, *στρατᾳ*, *στρατῳ* is the facilis descensus.

560—563.

μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσαυλίας,
σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους—τί δ' οὐ
στένοντες οὐ λαχόντες ἥματος μέρος;
τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ καὶ προσῆν πλέον στύγος.

'In a word, what was there we had not to complain about, or that we did not get for our daily share?' This is Mr Paley's translation of *τί δ' οὐ στένοντες κτλ.* How *ἥματος μέρος part of a day* comes to mean *daily share* he makes no attempt to explain, nor does he say a word about the difference in tense of

στένοντες and λαχόντες; but these are trifles, I pass them by. What rivets my attention is the absurdity of the question thus put in the herald's mouth. *What was there that we did not get for our daily share?* Why, the things that they did not get for their daily share were like the sands of the sea for multitude. Their grievance was precisely this, that they got for their daily share no good thing whatever. But, to quit the translation for the text, of course one fatal objection which disposes at once of the MS reading and of half the conjectural essays is that the pendent nominative participles contravene not merely grammar, that is nothing, but the elementary rules of writing. An irregularity in grammar like *Cho.* 518 τὰ πάντα γάρ τις ἐκχέας ἀνθ' αἵματος | ἑνὸς, μάτην ὁ μόχθος is not only legitimate but may be used with fine effect; but the man who thinks that because a nominative absolute can replace a genitive absolute therefore a participle can replace the principal verb of a sentence, is not destined to succeed in criticism. The most plausible of the conjectures which address themselves to the cure of this evil is perhaps Mr Margoliouth's στένοντας, ἀσχάλλοντας. This however though not very far from the MS is yet not very near: the change of the inflexions, in particular, is hard to explain: that I do not like the nature of the aposiopesis may be due merely to the fact that I have my own nostrum, which I will now prescribe. When I glance below at vv. 568—572 χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις...ἢ θάλπος...—τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος I cannot stifle the suspicion that in v. 561 the words τί δ' οὐ are simply the corruption, the very easy corruption, of τί δεῖ, breaking off the conditional sentence in a manner exactly parallel; and on this hint a touch or two will correct the lines.

—τί δεῖ
στένοντος εὖ λαχόντας ἥπατος μέρος;

what do men of right temper want with a mourner? The construction is the familiar one of αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ προμηθέως: for τί δεῖ στένοντος compare *Eum.* 94 καθευδουσῶν τί δεῖ; for εὖ λαχόντας = τοὺς εὖ λαχόντας see v. 39 μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ κοὐ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι and a dozen more passages in Aeschylus. The phrase εὖ λαχόντας ἥπατος μέρος finds a counterpart in v. 391

εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα: the poet might have written εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα μέρος in that place or εὖ λαχόντας ἥπατος in this without a whit of difference to the sense. λαχεῖν τινος without μέρος is the more common, but you have Theogn. 353 εἰ γνώμης ἔλαχες μέρος and Soph. *Ant.* 918 οὔτε του γάμου | μέρος λαχοῦσαν: μεταλαχεῖν τινος but also Eur. *Supp.* 1078 μετέλαχες τύχας Οἰδιπόδα, γέρον, μέρος: μετέχειν τινός but also *Ag.* 512 μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος: μέτεστί τινος but also Eur. *I. T.* 1299 μέτεστι χὐμῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων μέρος, wrongfully suspected by Nauck and Wecklein. Throughout tragedy the ἧπαρ is the part of the mind or soul which feels regret and remorse: ὁ εὖ ἥπατος λαχών then is the man whose ἧπαρ is proof against the excess of these emotions, the man who is not the victim of self-tormenting regrets for the irremediable past, of the ἄλγος παλίγκοτον disapproved in v. 576 if we there accept the correction of H. L. Ahrens as those must who are not prepared to invent a new meaning for παλίγκοτος. The herald therefore, as I understand him, checks himself in the midst of his recital with the reflexion that men of a right and happy temper of soul, like those to whom he speaks, do not want to hear unavailing lamentation over the past. But then at v. 563 other hardships recur to his mind and spring to his lips: then he checks himself again at v. 572 with a similar reflexion.

It will be seen that the incessant confusion of ε and ο is responsible for the change of δεῖ στένοντος εὖ into δ' οὐ στένοντες οὐ: the change of inflexion in λαχόντας was due of course to the στένοντες thus produced. The confusion of Π with that form of M in which one slightly curved line replaces the two diagonal strokes is chargeable with the errors ὅπως for ὅμως in v. 980, βλέπει for βρέμει in v. 1015 and δυσπαθῆ for δυσμαθῆ in v. 1254: besides the ἥματος for ἥπατος of our passage I think I detect another instance in the play. In v. 1432 sqq. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὁρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν· | μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην κτλ. the use of ὁρκίων for ὅρκων is improper, and though ὅρκων θέμις might perhaps stand for ὅρκος θεμιστός *lawful oath* yet it is quite without point to call the oath which follows either lawful or unlawful: Cly-

taemestra simply swears that she is not afraid. When I contemplate this verse there rings in my ear another, *Cho.* 498: *καὶ τῆσδ' ἄκουσον λοισθίου βοῆς, πάτερ.* Should we not write *καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούοις ὁρκίων ἐπῶν, Θέμι*? The restorations are all easy, *ω* for *η*, *οι* for *ει*, *π* for *μ*, *ι* for *ῑ*. Mr Margoliouth reads *καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούειν ὁρκίαν φήμην θέμις*: this meaning might be obtained at less expense by *καὶ τῶνδ' ἀκούειν σ' ὁρκίων ἐπῶν θέμις*, but I should still prefer the reading given above.

886—894.

νῦν, ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ', ἀπενθήτῳ φρενὶ
λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἐγὼ σταθμῶν κύνα,
σωτῆρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης
στῦλον ποδήρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρὶ,
καὶ γῆν φανεῖσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα, 890
κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος,
ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος.
τερπνὸν δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν.
τοιοῖσδέ τοί νιν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν.

In these lines as they stand three serious faults have been pointed out. Firstly, it is plain that when you call a man by seven *προσφθέγματα* you do not, if you have regard to style, connect the fourth and the fifth by *καὶ* leaving the rest *ἀσύνδετα*. To mend this fault Blomfield proposes *γαῖαν* for *καὶ γῆν* in v. 890, a conjecture which gets some support from *Eum.* 758 where Dindorf's *γαίας* for *καὶ γῆς* seems a probable emendation. Secondly, that Aeschylus did not put v. 893 where it now stands, severing v. 894 from the *προσφθέγματα* to which it refers, is evident to every one who understands, I do not say the art of poetry, but I say the art of writing respectable verse. To mend this fault Enger inserts v. 893 as a parenthesis between 886 and 887. Thirdly, I cannot help feeling, with Hermann and Meineke, that the superlative *κάλλιστον* in v. 891 as an epithet to *ἦμαρ* gravely impairs the force of the phrase. To mend this fault the conjectures *γαληνὸν* and *γανυστὸν* have been proposed, but of course are only valuable as testifying a perception of the difficulty.

I have hit on a device, which seems at least as simple as Blomfield's and Enger's, to mend all three faults at once. I propose to remove the four verses 890—893 from their present seat, so that *μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί* shall be followed by *τοιοῖσδέ τοί νιν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν*, and to insert them nine lines lower down, with one slight change, in the following order:

εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος
ἐς δῶμ' ἄελπτον ὡς ἂν ἡγῆται δίκη. 902
κάλλιστον ἦμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος, 891
ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος 892
καὶ γῆ φανεῖσα ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα· 890
τερπνὸν δὲ τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἅπαν. 893

When the word *ἄελπτον* has passed Clytaemestra's lips, its ring of menace is so clear to her guilty ear that she hastens to obscure its real significance by resort to the familiar saw that unexpected pleasure is sweetest. Sweetest, she says, is sunshine after storm, water to a traveller athirst, land ahead when the mariner least expects it; and indeed there is pleasure in all escape from stress of fortune: therefore, she implies, Agamemnon's home-returning, in which both elements of pleasure, *τἀναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν* and *τὸ ἄελπτον*, are combined, is sweetest of all. It is noticeable that her speech at the end of this episode is closed with a similar digression on a word, vv. 963—965: she has said *ἀνδρὸς τελείου*, and she bursts out *Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει.* In v. 891 *κάλλιστον*, transformed from attribute to predicate, is now without offence: the corruption in v. 890 arose from the adhesion to *φανεῖσα* of the initial *ν* of *ναυτίλοις*, whence the further change, by assimilation, of *γῆ* to *γῆν*.

I seem to myself to find external confirmation of this arrangement in two passages imitated, I think, from this. One is the distich, ascribed to the name Asclepiades, which Blomfield cites: *ἡδὺ θέρους διψῶντι χιὼν ποτὸν, ἡδὺ δὲ ναύταις | ἐκ χειμῶνος ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν στέφανον*, almost a paraphrase of the verses as I write them. The second is Eur. *fr.* 552 Dind. *ἐκ τῶν ἀέλπτων ἡ χάρις μείζων βροτοῖς | φανεῖσα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ προσδοκώμενον.*

'Vs. 2 aut spurius aut corruptus' says Nauck: 'corrupt, surely not spurious' says Munro: neither spurious nor corrupt, I must take heart to say. Construe *φανεῖσα* with *ἐκ τῶν ἀέλπτων*, and for the pleonasm *μείζων μᾶλλον* see *Hec.* 377 *θανὼν δ' ἂν εἴη μᾶλλον εὐτυχέστερος | ἢ ζῶν.*

990—1009.

μάλα βροτοῖσι τᾶς πολλᾶς ὑγιέας str.
ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόσος γὰρ
γείτων ὁμότοιχος ἐρείδει·
καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν
ἀνδρὸς ἔπαισεν <ἄφνω
δυστυχίας> ἄφαντον ἔρμα.
καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων 995
κτησίων ὄκνος βαλὼν
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου
οὐκ ἔδυ πρόπας δόμος
πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν
οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος· 1000
πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ
ἐξ ἀλόκων ἐπετειᾶν
νῆστιν ἤλασεν νόσον.
τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν ἅπαξ πεσὸν θανασίμου ant.
πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς τίς μέλαν αἶμ' ἂν 1005
πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;
τοῦδε τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ
τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν
Ζεὺς ἀπέπαυσ' ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ.

Vv. 990—4 and 1004—9 I have restored provisionally to show the drift of the whole passage, but without firm faith that I am giving the precise words of Aeschylus. The metres of strophe and antistrophe now correspond, except twice in anacrusis, where correspondence is not required; though perhaps *γείτων* in v. 992 is a gloss on *πελάτας*. How much of the change is my own and how much borrowed I leave the curious reader to seek from Wecklein. But on vv. 995—1000 I hope I have something definite to say.

With the pendent nominative ὄκνος βαλών I do not quarrel: harsh it may be, but it has ample warrant. But anyone who will consult the lexicons will see that of all the Greek words which we render in English by *fear*, ὄκνος is in this place the least appropriate: ὄκνος connotes shrinking and sluggishness, not the alertness and presence of mind which saves the ship by casting away the cargo. Further I should like to know what sense editors attach to σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου *from a sling of just proportions*. Mr Paley renders 'by a well-calculated throw'; on which I have to remark, first, that no engines of torture will wring that meaning from the Greek, and secondly that any such meaning is entirely irrelevant to the context. If you want to hit a mark, then you require a well-calculated (εὔστοχος) throw: but it is news to me that you need precision of aim to pitch your goods overboard. And setting aside these details I wish to point out that the general sense yielded by vv. 995—997, or perhaps I should rather say extorted from them, is not the sense which the context demands.

So far as I can discover the general opinion about the connexion of vv. 995—1009, that opinion is demonstrably wrong. All editors, I believe, put a full stop where I have put a colon after σκάφος in v. 1000, and all, I presume, summarise with Mr Sidgwick thus: 'a labouring boat may be saved (995—1000), a famine averted (1001—3), but blood once shed is irrevocable (1004—9).' It will not be denied, when it is once asserted, that this would require a connecting particle in v. 1001. When Mr Paley translates 'doubtless *too* a good supply...puts an end to famine,' and when Dr Kennedy translates '*And* truly gifts abundant...have brought...famine to an end,' those scholars forge this necessary link on the anvil of their imagination: in the Greek they do not find it. Mr Sidgwick says 'the connexion is abrupt: perhaps τοι is corrupt.' But a right account of the connexion will show that τοι is quite sound. The chorus in vv. 990—4 lay down the doctrine, recurring in fifty passages of Greek verse and prose, that over-great prosperity brings ruin, strikes in mid career on a reef. Yet (995—1000: καὶ = *atque*) if a man then sacrifice his substance he may avert utter destruction from his house: God (1001—3) can

restore him *substance* enough for his wants. But (1004—9) if that which is sacrificed be not man's substance but man's *life*, that none can restore. This seems clear and coherent sense, and the only sense which the form of the passage permits: vv. 1001—3 then have reference to 995—7. Now let me ask attention to the words *νῆστιν νόσον* in v. 1003: what brings this mention of *famine*? Does famine come from throwing overboard *a part* (*τὸ μὲν*) of your cargo? No: from throwing overboard *the whole*.

καὶ γόμον πρὸ χρημάτων
κτησίων κενὸς βαλὼν
σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρου
οὐκ ἔδυ πρόπας δόμος.

Yet if the house cast overboard, till nought be left, its freight of possessions from a capacious sling (in English metaphor *with unstinting hand*), *it sinks not utterly.* The epithet *εὐμέτρου* now has its proper force *of just proportions*, that is, large enough to hold the entire freight. It is usually said that *πρὸ* and *βαλὼν* are in tmesi: I should prefer to call *πρὸ* the adverb. The change of ΓΟΜΟΝ to ΤΟ ΜΕΝ I need not explain; but perhaps I should say a word on the corruption of *κενός*. In my note on v. 133 I gave instances of two consecutive letters reversed: here we have this error combined with alteration of one out of the two letters. This mistake is rendered the easier by the custom of writing one letter over another for brevity's sake. The rule requires that the superscript letter should be read as the latter of the two, but it often happens that an ignorant or inattentive scribe will misinterpret the abbreviation when copying it out at length. This is of course the more likely to occur if one of the two letters has been corrupted: when the correct order no longer gives a Greek word the copyist tries to obtain one by inversion. Similar errors to *ὄκνος* for *κενός* are *Ag.* 980 *ὑμνῳδεῖ* contra metrum for *μονῳδεῖ*, *Cho.* 661 *λεχθεῖσιν* for *λέσχαισιν*, 700 *δυσσεβείας* for *δ' εὐσεβείας*, *Supp.* 230 *κρέκω* for *κίρκων*, *Sept.* 452 *εἰσημάτιστα* for *ἐσχημάτισται*, 682 *αἰσχρά* for *ἐχθρά*, a mistake which recurs in Soph. *Phil.* 1284, *ἔχθιστος* for *αἴσχιστος*.

But we are not out of the wood yet. The phrase *πημονᾶς γέμων* is, in its proper place, which is not here, good sense: the phrase *πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν* is, and I am glad to see Weil thinks so too, ridiculous: as if there were such a thing as *πημονᾶς γέμειν μετρίως*! But further: whether my reading of vv. 995—7 be accepted or no, it is equally certain that the ship is there represented as laden not with *πημονή* but with *χρήματα κτήσια*. Therefore we have to say that the *χρήματα* themselves are here called *πημονή* as leading to disaster by their too great abundance. Now perhaps there are places where wealth can be called *πημονή*, but this is a place where it cannot: it cannot be called *πημονή* when it has just been called *ὑγίεια*. And the word *ἄγαν* survives to make nonsense of the present text and to tell us that just as Aeschylus began with the danger of *ἡ πολλὴ ὑγίεια*, so he here described the sinking ship as *γέμων ἄγαν* not *πημονᾶς* but *ὄλβου* or the like, *γέμων τοῦ πολλοῦ ὄλβου*. If the reader will turn to the parallel passage *Sept.* 753 sqq. he will find, I think, strong confirmation both of the correction I have made in vv. 995 and 996 and of the correction I am about to make in v. 999. The passage is this: *τὰ δ' ὁλοὰ πενομένους παρέρχεται,* | *πρόπρυμνα δ' ἐκβολὰν φέρει* | *ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν* | *ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς*. Here *πρόπρυμνα* (or *πρόπρεμνα*) *ἐκβολὰν*, rendered by the scholiast *ὅλου τοῦ φόρτου ἐκβολήν*, is precisely my *γόμον πρὸ κενὸς βαλών*; and *ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς* is *δόμος παμονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν*.

The word *παμονή*, which the lexicons do not contain, is to *πᾶμα* as *πημονή* to *πῆμα*, *χαρμονή* to *χάρμα* and *πλησμονή* to *πλῆσμα*. Against the entire family of words akin to *πέπαμαι* the copyists *πνέουσιν ἄσπονδον Ἄρη*. The verb itself, which is common enough, usually escapes with no worse injury than the mis-spellings *πέπαμμαι* and *ἐπασσάμην*, but even the verb sometimes perishes. Thus in Soph. *O. C.* 528 Nauck has to restore *δυσώνυμα λέκτρ' ἐπάσω* for *ἐπλήσω*, and Wecklein *Ἄιδα μόνον φεῦξιν οὐ πεπάσεται* for *οὐκ ἐπάξεται* in *Ant.* 362. The word *πάτωρ* has escaped death—*Ἄιδα φεῦξιν πέπαται*—only in Photius who has *πάτορες· κτήτορες*: elsewhere *πατήρ* has swallowed it: Hesych. *πάτορες* [W. Dindorf, *πατέρες* MS]·

πλούσιοι, Eur. *fr.* 654 Dind. χρημάτων | πολλῶν κεκλῆσθαι βούλεται πάτωρ [W. Dindorf, πατὴρ MSS] δόμοις, *Phoen.* 473 ἐγὼ δὲ πάτωρ [Munro, πατρὸς MSS] δωμάτων προὐσκεψάμην | τοὐμόν τε καὶ τοῦδ'. The word πολυπάμων has escaped in *Iliad* Δ 433 and in Hesych. πολυπάμονος· πολλὴν κτῆσιν ἔχοντος, and πολυπάμων· πλούσιος, πολλὰ κεκτημένος, πολυχρήμων, πάματα γὰρ τὰ χρήματα; but it has perished in Soph. *El.* 515 οὔτι πω | ἔλιπεν ἐκ τοῦδ' οἴκους | πολύπονος αἰκία, where the scholion τοὺς πολυκτήμονας δόμους points as Schneidewin has seen to the reading οἴκους πολυπάμονας. The word βουπάμων had to be restored for βουπαλίων by Valckenaer in an epigram of Leonidas Tarentinus (51 tom. 1, p. 167 Anth. Gr. Jacobs). Hesychius offers other corruptions: ἐπιπαματίδα [Maussacus, ἐπιματίδα MS]· τὴν ἐπίκληρον; ἐμπάμονι [Hemsterhuys, ἐμπαγμῷ MS]· πατρούχῳ; αὐτοπάμονα [Hemsterhuys, αὐτόπομα MS]· ἐπίκληρον. The word πᾶσις survives only in Hesych. πᾶσις· κτῆσις, but I propose to restore it once at least to Euripides. In *Andr.* 192 sqq. the heroine thus ridicules the jealousy of Hermione: εἶπ', ὦ νεᾶνι, τῷ σ' ἐχεγγύῳ λόγῳ | πεισθεῖσ' ἀπωθῶ γνησίων νυμφευμάτων; | ὡς τῆς Λακαίνης ἡ Φρυγῶν μείζων πόλις | τύχῃ θ' ὑπερθεῖ, κἄμ' ἐλευθέραν ὁρᾷς; | ἢ τῷ νέῳ τε καὶ σφριγῶντι σώματι | πόλεώς τε μεγέθει καὶ φίλοις ἐπηρμένη | οἶκον κατασχεῖν τὸν σὸν ἀντὶ σοῦ θέλω; It is plain that in v. 197 the words πόλεως τε μεγέθει cannot be right: the disparity between the one πόλις and the other has already been dealt with in v. 194; so Brunck amends the sense by writing πλούτου. A far slighter change suffices: πολεωc stands merely for πcλεωc, which is πλεωc with one letter misplaced. In Soph. *El.* 837 sqq. is this sentence: οἶδα γὰρ ἄνακτ' Ἀμφιάρεων χρυσοδέτοις ἔρκεσι κρυφθέντα γυναικῶν· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας πάμψυχος ἀνάσσει. The two last words are diversely interpreted to mean πασῶν ψυχῶν ἀνάσσει or ἀθάνατος ἀνάσσει or πάντι σθένει ἀνάσσει. The advocates of each rendering are so triumphantly successful in the easy task of exploding the other two that I can pass the question by to say that I should change one letter and write παμοῦχος ἀνάσσει *he is lord and king*: see Hesych. παμῶχος· ὁ κύριος, the Doric form. ἐπίπαμα is preserved, wrongly spelt,

in the Theocritean scholia, but not in Eur. *I. T.* 414. The chorus there enquire concerning Orestes and Pylades *are they merchants who sail the sea* φιλόπλουτον ἄμιλλαν | αὔξοντες μελάθροισιν; | φίλα γὰρ ἐλπὶς γένετ' ἐπὶ πήμασιν βροτῶν | ἄπληστος ἀνθρώποις, | ὄλβου βάρος οἳ φέρονται | πλάνητες ἐπ' οἶδμα πόλεις τε βαρβάρους περῶντες. The greater part of this antistrophe corresponds very accurately with the strophe; but the verse φίλα γὰρ ἐλπὶς κτλ. differs greatly from the strophic verse 399 τίνες ποτ' ἄρα τὸν εὔυδρον δονακόχλοον, and moreover makes no sense. I would restore meaning and correspondence thus: φίλα γὰρ ἐγένετ' ἐλπὶς ἔν τ' ἐπιπάμασιν | ἄπληστος ἀνθρώποις, where ἐπιπάμασιν is my own conjecture, the other alterations borrowed: *dear unto men is hope, and insatiable in acquisition.* Finally, the word πᾶμα, outside lexicographers and scholiasts, seems to be found only twice in Greek literature: Theocr. *Fistul.* 12 and Dosiad. *Anth. Pal.* 15. 25. 5, pointed out by Valckenaer *Animadv. ad Ammon.* lib. 3, cap. 7. But either I am thoroughly mistaken, or two more instances are to be disinterred from the text of Aeschylus. In *Sept.* 926 sqq. the chorus lament over Eteocles and Polynices who have ended by mutual slaughter their contention for sovereignty: πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων | ἴσος δατητὰς Ἄρης, ἀρὰν | πατρῴαν τιθεὶς ἀλαθῆ. | ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες, ὦ μέλεοι, | διοσδότων ἀχέων· | ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γᾶς | πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται. The verse διοσδότων ἀχέων should answer metrically to διατομαῖς οὐ φίλαις in the strophe. Meineke's διαδότων *parted between them* appears to be the first step towards emendation: for *α* and *ος* confused see Porson on Eur. *Hec.* 788. But now are we to write ἀφίλοις with H. Voss in the strophe, or alter ἀχέων in the antistrophe? Assuredly the latter; for ἀχέων, quite apart from metre, does not give a right sense. The ἀρὰ πατρῴα whose fulfilment these lines describe was (773 sqq.) σιδαρονόμῳ διὰ χερί ποτε λαχεῖν κτήματα, not ἄχη. Aeschylus seems to have written διαδότων παμάτων: some perversely ingenious reader chose to regard this as Doric for πημάτων, and signified his opinion by writing ἀχέων above it: then the gloss, as usual, expelled the genuine word. With the μοῖραν λαχόντες παμάτων thus restored compare vv. 890 sq. ἐμοιράσαντο δ' ὀξυκάρδιοι κτήματ' ὥστ'

ἴσον λαχεῖν. Last of all comes an instance of πᾶμα from the *Agamemnon* itself. Look at vv. 1567 sqq.

ἐγὼ δ' οὖν
ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν
ὅρκους θεμένη τάδε μὲν στέργειν
δύστλητά περ ὄνθ'· ὃ δὲ λοιπὸν ἰὼν 1570
ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν
τρίβοι θανάτοις αὐθένταισιν.
κτεάνων τε μέρος
βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι
μανίας μελάθρων 1575
ἀλληλοφόνους ἀφελούσῃ.

The τε of v. 1573 is plainly insufferable. Auratus' δὲ is sufferable but still an encumbrance: the connecting particle should be γὰρ or there should be no connecting particle. Nor is this the only objection I feel: πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι *anything suffices me* I could understand, and I could understand μέρος βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ ἀπόχρη μοι *it suffices me to have a small portion;* but μέρος βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι is a string of words which I am unable to construe, for πᾶν is not the same thing as παράπαν. Mr Paley translates 'I am content to keep even a small part out of *all* my possessions': that is to say, he renders πᾶν as a gen. plur. agreeing with κτεάνων. He does not translate τε, but ignores it. And now for the remedy. It must be observed that we have clear evidence of dislocation in this passage: the generally accepted μανίας μελάθρων ἀλληλοφόνους is Erfurdt's correction for δ' ἀλληλοφόνους μανίας μελάθρων, in which the meaningless δ' is an insertion to cure the hiatus caused by the displacement. I propose a similar transposition and the change of one letter:

βαιὸν ἐχούσῃ
πᾶμ' ἀπόχρη μοι κτεάνων τε μέρος.

The likeness of μ to ν, and the fact that a Byzantine copyist, if he knew the word at all, knew it only in the form πάμμα, make the alteration as easy as an alteration can well be.

1205.

ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστὴς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν.

'παλαιστής *a suitor*, lit. *a wrestler;* one of Aesch.'s picturesque and bold words' writes Mr Sidgwick, representing, I suppose, the general opinion. That it is bold to say *wrestler* when you mean *suitor* I cordially agree; but in what way it is picturesque, what picture it should present, I cannot guess. The term would be perfectly right and apt on the lips of Marpessa: to her Apollo really and truly ἦν παλαιστὴς κάρτα πνέων χάριν, when he contended with Idas for her hand. But story knows no rival of Apollo's in the suit of Cassandra; and the only picture which παλαιστής could present to an audience not specially informed beforehand is the picture of one beating the air. I should like then to substitute for a word which cannot here mean suitor a word which can: πελαστής. This is of course a legitimate formation from πελάζω, and is preserved by Ammonius: the cognate πελάτης is employed in the required sense of *temptator* by Sophocles *Phil.* 678 τὸν πελάταν λέκτρων ποτὲ τῶν Διὸς Ἰξίονα. Having regard to the constant interchange of ε and αι the reader will see that this is an instance of that inversion of three consecutive letters which I illustrated on v. 431. The very same confusion occurs in Eur. *I.T.* 881, where one of the two MSS which contain the play gives πρὶν ἐπὶ ξίφος αἵματι σᾷ πελάσαι, the other παλαῖσαι.

1321—1325.

ἅπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν ἢ θρῆνον θέλω
ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς. ἡλίῳ δ' ἐπεύχομαι
πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς, τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις
ἐχθροῖς φονεῦσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ
δούλης θανούσης εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος. 1325

Once more I fain would speak my own harangue or dirge is a deplorable specimen of style. But bad as it is there is something worse, Hermann's οὐ for ἤ; an alteration which not only fails to remove the totally inappropriate ῥῆσιν but even introduces a fresh defect: it is, as Weil says, most certain that if Aeschylus had written οὐ θρῆνον he could not have added ἐμὸν

τὸν αὐτῆς. In justice to Hermann it should be said that he himself put forward the conjecture with little confidence: he would marvel at its present vogue. Nor do I find among the other guesses enumerated by Wecklein a single proposal which repairs the passage with any critical probability.

I seem to find here the traces of a strange hallucination in the scribe, incredible to those who have not studied MSS and unnoticed by many of those who have, but not rare in Latin and not unknown in Greek: I mean the wholesale permutation of the letters which constitute a word. The letters ρησινηθ are the letters which in their proper order constitute the word ἠριθνής. The word, I say, for νεοθνής and ἡμιθνής on the one hand, and ἠριγέρων and ἠριγένεια (Aesch. *fr.* 346 Dind.) on the other, will vouch for ἠριθνής *dying rathe*, though the lexicons know it not. This correction I think will add force to ἅπαξ ἔτι: since she must perish, and perish before her time, the double bitterness of her fate cries for a second dirge; so she enters the palace to chant it and there at last κύκνου δίκην | τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον | κεῖται.

Were I to illustrate this error of permutation as fully as I might, and as I hope to do some other day, I should have to stray far from the *Agamemnon*, so I content myself with one more instance which the text of the play will furnish: vv. 1537 sq.

> Δίκα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θηγάνει βλάβας
> πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναις μοῖρα.

I have written down these lines with Hermann's θηγάνει for the unmetrical θήγει which has come from λήγει in the line above, and with the necessary correction of βλάβης to the Doric form. In addition to these changes it is usual to read for metre's sake θηγάναισι, and Δίκαν for the sake of a construction. The sense thus elicited is given by Mr Paley as follows: 'Fate is whetting (the sword of) Justice upon another whetstone, for a new business of harm.' *Justice* I find in the Greek, but as for her sword, προχαλκεύει Mr Paley φασγανουργός: the words mean, as Dr Kennedy renders, 'Fate is sharpening Justice'; and the picture of this august divinity whetted on a hone

like some article of cutlery must be to any mind a ridiculous image and to the mind of Aeschylus an impious one. Beyond comparison the best conjecture ventured is Musgrave's *Δίκα... θηγάναις μάχαιραν*, which gives precisely the sense required; but we can come even nearer to the MSS:

Δίκα δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα θηγάνει βλάβας
πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναισιν ἆορ.

Allow for the confusion of *ν* with *μ*, and the letters of *ιναορ* and of *μοιρα* are the same.

I return to vv. 1321—5. In 1322 Jacob's *ἡλίου* is necessary and now generally accepted. Than the ensuing sentence there is, it will be confessed, no sentence in tragedy more indisputably corrupt. But in my opinion there is also no sentence in tragedy more simply and certainly corrigible. The corrections which I am about to propose occurred to me the very first time I read the passage with attention. I am therefore not surprised to find from Wecklein that the main points of the emendation were anticipated years before: surprised I am that these obvious corrections are suffered to lie 'Orci tradita thesauro', while scholar on scholar pours forth conjectures which rival one another in rashness and lack of meaning. In particular, the number of distinguished critics, from Musgrave onwards, who have mistaken *τίνειν* for *τίνεσθαι*, is confounding.

First we must have a subject for *τίνειν*: this, since *τίνειν* after all is not *τίνεσθαι*, will be *ἐχθροὺς...τοὺς ἐμούς*. Next we must have an object for *τίνειν* which shall also furnish the gen. *δούλης* with a construction: this we shall seek in the otiose and misplaced *φονεῦσι*; and there it is, *φόνευσιν*. Thirdly, *ὁμοῦ* would tell us, if common sense did not, that Cassandra's prayer is not the absurd one that her own avengers may avenge her, but that certain destined avengers of some one else may in avenging him avenge her also: therefore *ἐμοῖς* in 1323 is corrupt and shall be replaced by *νέοις*.

ἡλίου δ' ἐπεύχομαι
πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς, τοῖς νέοις τιμαόροις
ἐχθροὺς φόνευσιν τοὺς ἐμοὺς τίνειν ὁμοῦ
δούλης θανούσης, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος.

The rare *φόνευσιν*—it is not in our lexicons though *φόνευμα* is—was mistaken for the familiar *φονεῦσιν*, and the adjacent accusatives were thus attracted into the dative, a change rendered the easier by the likeness of *υ* to *ι*. The corruption of *νέοις* into *ἐμοῖς* is an example of the error which gave us *ὄκνος* for *κενός* in v. 996 and the other blunders cited in my note there: precisely the same alteration is found in Eur. *Med.* 1388 *σὺ δ', ὥσπερ εἰκὸς, κατθανεῖ κακὸς κακῶς | πικρὰς τελευτὰς τῶν νέων γάμων ἰδών*, where *νέων* is Weil's necessary correction of *ἐμῶν*. Of these changes, *ἐχθροὺς...τοὺς ἐμούς* belongs to Pearson, *φόνευσιν* to Bothe, *νέοις* only to me.

1456—1458.

ἰὼ παρανόμους Ἑλένα,
μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς
ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ.

The metre of v. 1456 is usually mended by iterating *ἰώ* with Blomfield and writing *παράνους* with Hermann. This conjecture is so generally accepted that *παράνους* is received into the lexicons solely on the strength of it. Yet I neither understand how *παράνους* produced the portentous *παρανόμους*, nor do I find much point or even much sense in the epithet. I am willing to take Hermann's word that Helen was crazy; but this was not the place for saying so: her distraction of mind is one thing, her destruction of life another. Let us try to find something a trifle more appropriate. Everyone remembers the play on the name *Ἑλένη* in v. 693, *ἑλέναυς, ἕλανδρος, ἑλέπτολις*. Now there is another *ἔτυμον* of the name which Aeschylus could hardly overlook and which exactly suits the context here. If we write

ἰὼ παρὰ πῦρ ὄνομ' οὖσ' Ἑλένα,

we shall write what the loss of *πυρο* after *παρα* would transform to *παρανόμους*. The facility of this loss is shown by the error *παραφόροιο* for *πυροφόροιο* in an epigram in the Medicean Life of Aeschylus. The construction *παρά* c. acc. is the technical phrase by which grammarians indicate the derivation of one word from another. The derivation of *Ἑλένη* from *ἑλάνη α*

firebrand must, as I said, have been specially tempting and is here specially appropriate with reference to *ὀλέσασα*: fire, as our newspaper writers are aware, is the devouring element. I think I find the same etymology in Euripides. In *Tro.* 891 sqq. Hecuba is warning Menelaus against the charm of Helen: *ὁρᾶν δὲ τήνδε φεῦγε, μή σ' ἕλῃ πόθῳ· | αἱρεῖ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὄμματ', ἐξαιρεῖ πόλεις*—so far the *ἔτυμον* is *ἑλεῖν*; but then she goes on—*πίμπρησι δ' οἴκους*: surely that is a glance at *ἑλάνη*.

1476—1485.

ΚΛ. *νῦν δ' ὤρθωσας στόματος γνώμην*
τὸν τριπάχυντον
δαίμονα γέννης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.
ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἱματολοιχὸς
νείρει τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλῆξαι 1480
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.
ΧΟ. *ἦ μέγαν οἴκοις τοῖσδε*
δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς,
φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-
ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου. 1485

'Before the old woe ceases, the new blood flows' is Mr Sidgwick's rendering of vv. 1480–1; and the verb *flows* is indisputably necessary to the sense but indisputably absent from the Greek. Therefore, and because *νείρει*, when altered into *νείρᾳ*, is quite superfluous, it seems to me that we should transpose that corrupt word; should read *ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἱματολοιχὸς | τρέφεται*, and endeavour to get the verb *flows* from *νείρει, πρὶν καταλῆξαι | τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.*

I think *νείρει* is simply *νᾷ*: *ῥεῖ* is the common gloss on the rarer *νᾷ*. Hesych. *νάει· ῥέει*; *νάουσι· ῥέουσι*; *νῶντα· ῥέοντα*; *ναέτωρ· ῥέων*; *ναρᾶς· ῥευστικῆς*; *νᾶμα· ῥεῦμα*; *νάνας· τὰς ῥυτάς*; *νασμούς· ῥεύσεις*; *νασμῶν· ῥευμάτων*. As the copula is desirable and would readily perish in the sequence *-ται καὶ νᾶι*, I suppose Aeschylus to have written

ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἱματολοιχὸς
τρέφεται, καὶ νᾷ, πρὶν καταλῆξαι
τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ.

The antistrophic verses answering vv. 1482—5 are these, vv. 1506—9,

ὡς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ
τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων;
πῶ πῶ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-
πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.

To reconcile the metres of 1506 and 1482 is a problem which has caused much torment: the many conjectures recorded by Wecklein are all violent or ineffectual. But the first step towards emendation has I think been taken by Schuetz, who reads in the antistrophe *ὡς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ σύ*: the pronoun, if not absolutely necessary in poetry as it would be in prose, is at any rate an improvement; and the metre now approximates to that of the strophe. The likeness of ει to cγ makes the loss of the latter easy to understand: the same loss has happened in *Supp.* 950 where everyone now accepts Bothe's *εἴσει σύ τ' αὐτὸς* for *εἰσθιγαυτος*: that means, cγ was absorbed by ει which afterwards became θι. The strophe I propose to amend thus:

ἦ μέγαν εἰκόσι ταῖσδε
δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς

verily a great and vengeful demon is he of whom thou speakest in these parables, that is, in the metaphorical language of vv. 1479—81: *εἰκών a metaphor* occurs in Aristophanes and Plato. Virtually *εἰκόσι* and *οἴκοις* differ only in the order of their two final letters: when the inversion (see on v. 133) had taken place, the good scribe justly proud of knowing the gender of *οἶκος* completed the corruption by writing *τοῖσδε*.

1531.

τείσας ἅπερ ἦρξεν.

μεταβολὴ πάντων γλυκύ: let us play the conservative for once. Wecklein has recalled attention to Spanheim's very attractive conjecture *ἔρξεν*, certainly a more just and pointed

opposition to τείσας. But I think it well to sound the warning that ἦρξεν would seem to have been read here by Euripides. See Eur. *fr.* 825 Dind. τιμωρίαν ἔτεισεν ὧν ἦρξεν κακῶν and *H. F.* 1169 τίνων δ' ἀμοιβὰς ὧν ὑπῆρξεν Ἡρακλῆς.

1590—1597.

ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατὴρ
Ἀτρεύς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως, πατρὶ
τῷμῷ, κρεουργὸν ἦμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν
δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.
τὰ μὲν ποδήρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας
ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος
ἄσημ'· ὁ δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβὼν
ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον ὡς ὁρᾷς γένει.

In v. 1591 προθύμως is condemned not merely by its own absurdity but by the presence of εὐθύμως in the next verse: I should write without hesitation προσηνῶς. This seems to give just the sense required, and of course the difference between σην and θυμ is palaeographically nothing.

Vv. 1594—7 I have written down just as they are in the MSS, with one exception: I have of course accepted Dindorf's ἄσημ'· ὁ δ' for ἄσημα δ'. Unless this change be made, the subject of ἔσθει will of necessity be Atreus: when Mr Paley writes 'and Thyestes' and when Dr Kennedy writes 'so my sire,' they are translating the ὁ δέ which they exclude from their texts, not the MS reading which they print. Mr Paley, Dr Kennedy, Mr Sidgwick, Mr Margoliouth, retain the solecism ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος *viritim sedens*. Casaubon's ἀνδρακὰς καθημένοις and Wecklein's ἀνδρακὰς δατούμενος are Greek: they are most obscure, and so far as they do yield a meaning that meaning would seem to be that Atreus gave the murdered children for meat not to Thyestes only but to the rest of the company as well; but still they are Greek. But in no tongue save the tongue of Soli can one person καθῆσθαι ἀνδρακάς, any more than he can form himself in square to receive cavalry. Because Suidas, quite correctly, renders ἀνδρακάς by χωρίς, we should not therefore jump to the conclusion that whenever we mean χωρίς we can say ἀνδρακάς.

Whatever else in this passage may be sound, I think *ἀνδρακάς* must be corrupt. That word necessarily imports an allusion to the other guests at the banquet. Now if that allusion were introduced at all, which was not needful, it should at least have been made more intelligible. The mention of the guests starts our curiosity to know how Atreus contrived to set the children's flesh before Thyestes alone among their number; and our curiosity is not gratified. What I propose then is this:

> *τὰ μὲν ποδήρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας*
> *ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἄνθρακος καθημμένου*
> *ἄσημ'.*

Once let *θ* become *δ*, as in v. 988 *ψύδη* for *ψύθη*, nothing but *ἀνδρακάς* could ensue; then *καθημμένου* bereft of its substantive must change its inflexion: the remaining error *μ* for *μμ* recalls the converse blunder in v. 1418 *λημμάτων* for *ἀημάτων*. *θρύπτειν* is a technical term in cookery, see lexx. sub vocc. *ἔνθρυπτα* and *θρύμματα*: it means properly to mince a solid, usually bread, into a liquid, thus forming a pulp. It would appear from v. 1082 *ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας* that such parts of the bodies as were not plainly recognisable for human were roast: the tell-tale hands and feet were, I presume, boiled in a *λέβης*. The lines thus emended seem to have been imitated by Euripides in his account of another *ἀνθρωπομάγειρος*. In *Cycl.* 244 sqq., *σφαγέντες αὐτίκα | πλήσουσι νηδὺν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπ' ἄνθρακος | θερμὴν ἑλόντος δαῖτ' ἄτερ κρεανόμου, | τὰ δ' ἐκ λέβητος ἑφθὰ καὶ τετηκότα*, you have *ἄνθρακος* as here, *αὐτίκα...ἑλόντος* to recall Aeschylus' *αὐτίκα...λαβών*, and *τετηκότα* to recall *ἔθρυπτ'...ἄσημα*. It is true that *ἄνθραξ* is there in opposition to *λέβης*, as *ἀνθρακιά* is in opposition both to boiling and to roasting in v. 358 *ἑφθὰ καὶ ὀπτὰ καὶ ἀνθρακιᾶς ἄπο* (broiled) *χναύειν...μέλη ξένων*. But *ἄνθραξ* is used of boiling in vv. 373 sq. *ἑφθά τε δαινύμενος μυσαροῖσιν ὀδοῦσιν | ἀνθρώπων θέρμ' ἀπ' ἀνθράκων κρέα*. The compound *καθάπτειν* does not seem to occur elsewhere in the sense I give it here; but that is nothing: *ἅπτειν kindle* is warrant for *καθάπτειν kindle thoroughly*. The tragedians prefix with great freedom the intensive *ἐξ* and *κατά*: thus *καταυχῶ* for

αὐχῶ is used once by Aeschylus, never by anyone else; and here he prefers to say ἄνθρακος καθημμένου while Thucydides IV 100 is content with ἄνθρακας ἡμμένους. ἄνωθεν c. gen. is found fifteen lines above, in a passage to which I will devote a word for its own sake, vv. 1578 sq.

φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους
θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχη.

Mr Paley and many others construe γῆς ἄχη: Auratus' instinct told him that this phrase was unsuitable, and he therefore conjectured ἄγη, which many accept. But anyone who will turn to Eur. *fr.* 959 Dind. ἔστι, κεἴ τις ἐγγελᾷ λόγῳ, | Ζεύς, καὶ θεοὶ βρότεια λεύσσοντες πάθη will see that Euripides found ἄχη in his Aeschylus and construed it with βροτῶν. γῆς therefore depends on ἄνωθεν.

In Wecklein's list of conjectures I find these: ἔκρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἄνθρακας καθειμένος Tyrwhitt, ἔθρυπτ' ἄνω θεὶς ἄνθρακας καθημμένους Abresch, ἄνθρακος 'anonymus' with what context I know not. I cannot extract much sense from any of these readings; but it is right that I should mention conjectures which verbally resemble mine so nearly.

1654—1665.

ΚΛ. μηδαμῶς, ὦ φίλατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα δράσωμεν κακά.
ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλά, δύστηνον θέρος.
πημονῆς ἅλις δ' ὑπάρχει· μηδὲν αἱματώμεθα.
στείχετε δ' οἱ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους τούσδε,
πρὶν παθεῖν { ἔρξαντα / ἔρξαντες } καιρόν· χρὴν τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν.
εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἅλις γ' ἐχοίμεθ' ἄν,
δαίμονος χηλῇ βαρείᾳ δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι.
ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικὸς, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.

ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ τούσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὧδ' ἀπανθίσαι
κἀκβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους,
σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἁμαρτῆτον κρατοῦντα.

ΧΟ. οὐκ ἂν Ἀργείων τόδ' εἴη, φῶτα προσσαίνειν κακόν.

In considering the well-known difficulties of vv. 1657—9 I will begin with the hypermetrical τούσδε of 1657. To discard

this with Auratus does not explain how it got into the text; to insert it in the next verse with Weil demands the extrusion of some other word. Now it is to be observed that just as we have two syllables too many at the end of v. 1657, so have we three too few at the end of v. 1664. Not only this, but I notice that while the verse to which τούσδε is tacked ends with πεπρωμένους, v. 1663, the next-door neighbour to the defective verse, ends with a word of almost identical appearance, πειρωμένους. I guess then that τούσδε is the missing end of v. 1664, and that either the end or the beginning has been misplaced through the homoeoteleuton of vv. 1657 and 1663. And indeed Hermann and others have already seen that v. 1664, supplement it how you will, is misplaced. Take vv. 1662—4 in Mr Paley's translation: 'But to think that these men should thus gather the flowers of their vain tongue against me, and have uttered such words, challenging their fate, *and so fail in sound judgment*' (ἁμαρτεῖν Casaubon) etc. Was ever such an impotent sequel as these words form to the two foregoing verses? Two enemies are in the heat of an envenomed altercation, insults and menaces flying to and fro: a friend exhorts them to be calm; and one of them bursts out '*But that this man should fail in sound judgment*'! No: it is not thus that mankind talk. Take this v. 1664 away, and 1665 follows appropriately on 1663: now let us see what can be done in the neighbourhood of τούσδε. Of the two MSS which are here our authorities the Florentine alone gives δ' ἁμαρτῆτον: the Venetian omits it, leaving a blank space. This indicates that in the common parent of both the MSS these letters were barely decipherable; so it will not be rash to alter one letter more than was altered by Casaubon. I should place v. 1664 between 1656 and 1657; and in the corrupt tradition

σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἁμαρτῆτον κρατοῦντα τούσδε

I suggest that ἁμαρτῆ stands for ὁμαρτεῖ and τούσδε for τοῖς λε:

σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ὁμαρτεῖν τὸν κρατοῦντα τοῖς λεῴς.

With σώφρ. γν. supply ἐστίν: to ὁμαρτεῖν I give the sense which προσχωρεῖν has in Eur. *Med.* 222 χρὴ δὲ ξένον μὲν κάρτα προσχωρεῖν πόλει. In the *Antigone* of Euripides, where the

position of the τύραννος was canvassed, occurred the line, *fr.* 172 Dind., δεῖ τοῖσι πολλοῖς τὸν τύραννον ἀνδάνειν, which looks to me like a paraphrase of the verse I give to Aeschylus.

I am sorry to deal in this guesswork, but it was necessary to handle the matter in order to justify my rejection of τούσδε from v. 1657, to the correction of which I now proceed. Madvig and others have seen that δόμους πεπρωμένους *destined home* has no meaning which suits the context: 'πεπρωμένοι cur domus appellentur causa iure quaeritur nec reperitur': it could signify nothing but Ἄιδου δόμους. True, you can invest it with some sort of sense by accepting Franz's conjecture στεῖχε καὶ σὺ χοὶ γέροντες; but how a scribe could mistake καισυχ for τεδ, and how without gross superstition we can believe that scribes who made mistakes like this have preserved uncorrupted a single word that Aeschylus wrote, I do not know. Science here furnishes a correction so obvious, and so appropriate to the lips of Clytaemestra in her part of peacemaker, that far from being surprised to find it anticipated by Ahrens, I am surprised not to find it anticipated by Auratus. The scribe who corrupted στείχετ', αἰδοῖοι γέροντες into the present reading of the MSS merely, for the hundredth time, substituted ε for αι, and wrote οι once when he should have written it twice. For the rest of the line the most plausible conjecture by far is Madvig's: πρὸς δόμους, πεπρωμένοις, | πρὶν παθεῖν, εἴξαντες. This, though I do not like parting with the familiar juxtaposition of παθεῖν and ἔρξαι, is excellent sense so far as it goes; but now what are we to make of the sequel καιρὸν χρῆν τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν? Of course καιρόν must be altered into an infinitive, but what infinitive? Heath's αἰνεῖν, which Madvig would like, is very wide of the MSS: Hermann's ἀρκεῖν, which Madvig accepts, is near to the MSS but very wide of a satisfactory meaning. I have seen no suitable and probable word suggested, and can suggest none myself. It seems to me that each of the vv. 1657 and 1658 is a complete sentence.

The former is this:

στείχετ', αἰδοῖοι γέροντες, πρὸς δρόμους πεπρωμένους.

See Eur. *Med.* 1245 ἔρπε πρὸς βαλβῖδα λυπηρὰν βίου. Cly-

taemestra counsels the elders to betake themselves to the new course of life to which it has pleased God to call them, submission to the rule of Aegisthus and herself. The wrongful omission or insertion of ρ after a mute is very common; commonest after β and τ, but common after all mutes: for δρόμος and δόμος confused see *fr.* 374 Dind., where the MSS of Theocritus' scholia vary between πρόδρομος and πρόδομος, and Eur. *Andr.* 1099, where both δρόμοις and δόμοις are found.

In v. 1658 I suppose πρίν to be the adverb (= πρότερον), not the conjunction. When ἔρξαντες is found in the Florentine MS and ἔρξαντα in the Venetian, I think it is the most rational inference that ἔρξαντας was in the Medicean: καιρόν must in any case be altered for metre's sake, as the singular ἔρξαντα is indefensible. But already we have restored sense to the verse, and metre may be restored thus:

καιρόν
πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρξαντας ὥραν χρῆν, τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν.

Hesych. ὥρα· καιρός; ὧραι· καιροί; ὥρῃ· τῷ καιρῷ; καθ' ὥραν· κατὰ καιρόν. The adverbial use of τὴν ὥρην = *iusto tempore* occurs in Herod. II. 2: καιρόν itself is used in that sense in Soph. *Ai.* 34, 1316 and Eur. *Hel.* 479, but καιρόν is perhaps thus employed only with ἥκω or verbs of that meaning. Of course I cannot promise that ὥραν was the very word on which καιρόν is a gloss; but that καιρόν is a gloss, luckily detected by metre, I have no doubt. I render *you should have exchanged blows earlier, in season, when we did this deed.* Strictly I suppose πρίν belongs to παθεῖν, ὥραν to ἔρξαντας. In the same meaning which I here give to παθεῖν ἔρξαντας (smite and be smitten) Euripides *Phoen.* 480 uses κακόν τι δρᾶσαι καὶ παθεῖν.

In v. 1659 almost all editors now accept Martin's δεχοίμεθ' ἄν. But manifestly this of itself is not enough to amend the line. To say εἰ μόχθων γένοιτο ἅλις the moment after you have said πημονῆς ἅλις ὑπάρχει is so obviously inconsistent that there is a general consent against the genuineness of ἅλις. Donaldson proposes and Paley approves ἄκος, which makes good sense. But the verse is to be corrected with much less change than ἄκος, δεχοίμεθ' ἄν. The reading which I propose is really almost identical with that of the MSS:

εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλη, στεγοίμεθ' ἄν,

η for ι, τ for Γ, γ for χ. *Should there be any way to ward off these ills* (civil war), *ward them off we should.* We moderns know only ἄλη *error;* but the Greeks knew also ἄλη *tritura* akin to ἀλέω *tero* and ἄλη *defensio* akin to ἀλέω *defendo.* The existence of the verbs might support this surmise, even were there no other proof; but it happens that both these lost substantives occur in the *Agamemnon,* though obscured in one place by the corruption of the copyists and in the other by the mistranslation of the commentators. In v. 204 the winds that blew at Aulis are called βροτῶν ἄλαι, which is supposed to mean *causes of wandering to men:* a less happy name for winds which *prevented* the Greeks from sailing and kept their fleet on the shore it would need some ingenuity to devise. The true rendering is suggested by v. 207 ἄνθος κατέξαινον Ἀργείων τρίβῳ (so I should arrange the words, making no change in the antistrophe but ῥείθροις for ῥεέθροις): βροτῶν ἄλαι are *grindings* or *tribulations of men,* winds *that wear men away* ἀπλοίᾳ κεναγγεῖ. In v. 1659 ἄλη is akin to ἀλέω *defendo,* a verb preserved, I think, only in Hesych. ἄλεε· φύλασσε: I imagine that ἀλέομαι *uito* is originally part of the same verb: compare too ἀλέη, ἀλεωρή, ἀλεύω, ἀλέξω. The verse means then εἰ μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδε φυλακὴ, φυλασσοίμεθ' ἄν, but Aeschylus chooses poet-like to vary his words.

Here therefore are the verses as I would write them:

στείχετ', αἰδοῖοι γέροντες, πρὸς δρόμους πεπρωμένους.
πρὶν παθεῖν, ἔρξαντας <ὥραν>, χρῆν, τάδ' ὡς ἐπράξαμεν.
εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλη, στεγοίμεθ' ἂν,
δαίμονος χηλῇ βαρείᾳ δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

NOTE ON EMENDATIONS OF PROPERTIUS.

I said on p. 16 of this vol. of the *Journal of Philology* that I feared some of the corrections there proposed had been forestalled by others. I am to blame that this is true of a larger number than one could wish, mainly through trusting to my memory of Burmann's notes instead of giving them a fresh perusal. I now make restitution: I xx 24 *sacram* Rutgersius, II ix 7 *uisuram* (*uisurum* is an error) Paley, xxviii 62 punctuated so by Postgate, xxxiv 12 *posses tun* and 40 *irato* Heinsius, III viii 12 *haec* Liuineius, xvi 21 *cursus* Markland, xvii 24 *carpta* Heinsius, xviii 21 *manet* Palmer, xxii 15 *siqua et* Heinsius, IV ii 12 *credis id* Postgate, vii 23 *eunti* Reland. The three living scholars will, I hope, accept my apologies.

Further, the following proposals have more or less in common with my own, and ought to be mentioned: I iii 37 *nempe ibi* Burmann, II viii 30 *Teucros* Passeratius, ix 12 *apposito ...Simoente* Guietus, x 2 *campum Maeonio* and xxi 12 *excepta Aesonia est* Heinsius, III vi 28 *exsuccis unguibus* Burmann.

Let me here subjoin a few conjectures accidentally omitted from the paper of which I speak: II i 53 *an in me* for *siue*, II xxxii 9 *quid iubet* for *cum uidet*, III i 32 *terra* for *Troia*, III xix 17 *more parentis* for *tempore matris*, IV iv 83 *ascensum monstrat dubio* for *mons erat ascensu dubius*, IV viii 13 *fuerunt* for *fuerint*.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

ON THE AETNA OF LUCILIUS.

DURING the last year, in which the *Aetna*, as one of the poems included in the *Appendix Vergiliana*, has occupied a great deal of my attention, I have made a renewed and most careful study of Munro's edition. It is not too much to say that this is, in the eyes of scholars trained up to the present level of philological criticism, the *only* edition which is self-sufficing and in any sense complete. For the text of the *Aetna* depends so largely on the one reliable and throughout uninterpolated MS, Cambridge Kk v 34, that the publication by Munro of its readings for the first time in 1867 marks the real moment at which the poem became, in the true sense of the word, intelligible. Up to that time the MSS known were comparatively late in date and corrupted proportionately; the Cambridge codex seems to be as early as cent. x. Only one other can claim anything like the same antiquity, the Stabulensian fragment (*S*) at Paris. Munro did not know this; but Bährens has given its readings in his edition (PLM. II. p. 88 sqq.). These agree closely with the Cambridge MS (Munro's α, Bährens' *C*), so closely as rarely to throw much additional light on the disputed or obscure passages. Whether any third codex that can rank with these two is lurking in the libraries of Europe, I cannot say: in Rome where I examined five MSS of the *Aetna*, to which I may now add one at Naples, all written in cent. XV, nothing of the kind greeted my researches; indeed only one of all the six was sufficiently free from interpolation to deserve collating, Vat. 3272[1].

[1] Fortune has not befriended us here: for the excellent and absolutely original MS of the *Culex* in the Corsini Library at Rome, was to have contained the *Aetna;* but the scribe broke off his work after copying the first six lines. It is however noteworthy that in v. 1 this MS gives *ruptisque caui* not *ruptique cauis*.

Of the Gyraldinus, a supposed codex of very early date, which has long been lost, but of whose readings on vv. 138—287 we still possess the tradition (see Munro p. 31 sqq., Bährens pp. 6—8, cf. Wagler *de Aetna poemate quaestiones criticae.* Berlin 1884), I purposely omit saying much: for so many of its variants are irreconcileable with the text of *CS*, and are so very like the ingenious conjectures of some modern scholar, as to throw suspicion on the integrity of the whole of them. At any rate it seems safer always to start from *CS* as the basis for our reconstruction of disputed passages; for there is nothing to prove any such early depravation of the text of these two MSS as must be admitted if many of the reported variants of the Gyraldinus are right.

61 *iam patri dextera Pallas*
Et Mars saeuus erat, iam cetera turba deorum
Stant utrimque †deus† ualidos tum Iuppiter ignis
Increpat et uicto proturbat fulmine montes.

So *C*; the Stabulensian fragm. has *de//*. There can be no meaning in *deus*, but it is very doubtful what it represents. Haupt's *secus* is clever, but seems to me a little prosaic. Bährens' *tuens* gives an idea of divine unconcern alien to the feeling of the passage; possibly *uerens*, of which the first syllable may have been lost after *-que*, may be the word. For *uicto* I confess I prefer the old Italian correction *iacto* to *uictor*, which Munro accepts from two MSS γ and ϵ.

66 *atque impius hostis*
Praeceps cum castris agitur, materque iacentis
Impellens uictos. tum pax est reddita mundo
Tum liber cessat uenit per sidera caelum
Defensique decus mundi nunc redditur astris.

I differ from Munro in his view of these vv. (1) As to the meaning of *Impellens*, 'rallying' M. Surely the sense cannot be this; rather Earth urges on to flight her prostrate children, the Giants, i.e. urges them to rise and take to headlong flight. (2) v. 69 Munro prints

Tum liber cessat: uenit per sidera: caelum,

translating 'then peace was restored to the sky, which then was free and at rest; this peace came by the help of the stars: heaven and the honour of the sky's defence are now assigned to the stars'. If *caelum* of *CS* is correct, it is almost impossible, I believe, to disconnect it from the preceding words, 'heaven is seen appearing through the stars', i.e. as the giants clear off from the face of heaven, the stars reappear and the interspaces of sky become discernible. Yet it is also possible that *cessat* represents *cessata* a participle which occurs in 384,

Si cessata diu referunt spectacula uenti,

and the passage may then run

Tum Liber cessata uenit per sidera: caelum
Defensique decus mundi nunc redditur astris.

Bacchus bore a conspicuous part in the conflict with the Giants, as Horace tells us C. II. 19. 21—24, and his progress amid the now resting stars would be a natural way of expressing that this strife was ended.

74 *Haec est mendosae uulgata licentia famae*
Vatibus ingenium est, hinc audit nobile carmen.
Plurima pars scenae rerum est fallacia, uates
Sub terris nigros uiderunt carmine manes.

For *scenae* Vat. gives *scenica*. May not the right reading be *sed enim?* By this we gain the retention of *rerum* (*uerum* Munro), and an excellent sense; *sed enim* refers to *mendosae*. For *uiderunt carmine*, which is very odd Latin, I suspect the poet wrote *finxerunt*, unless indeed Bährens' *luserunt* is more probable.

80 *Hi Tityon poena strauere in iugera foedum,*
Sollicitant illi te circum, Tantale, poena
Sollicitantque siti.

Many points are open to question here. (1) *poena* in 80 must be wrong, as *iugera* could hardly stand by itself thus barely; yet Haupt's *strauere nouena in iugera* is to my mind less likely than what has found its way into many MSS, including Vat. 3272, *septem strauere in iugera:* for this *septem* can hardly be

a 15th century correction, since most schoolboys were taught then, as all are now, that Tityos covered *nine* plethra. I think therefore that *septem* may be the right reading. (2) In v. 81 I would not alter *circum;* and *poena* is just intelligible, if we suppose it to be explained by *siti;* but Bährens' *cena* is very plausible, preferable I think to *pomo, pomis* or Munro's *poma.* Is it possible that *illi* is an error for *nili,* 'an unreal repast' which instantly eludes his grasp? Cf. Varro L. L. ix. 77 *nihili argumentum* 'a nugatory argument'.

83 *Minos tuaque Aeace in umbris*
Iura canunt idemque rotant Ixionis orbem.
Quicquid et internis falsi sibi conscia terrent.
Nec tu terra satis: speculantur numina diuum.

So *CS:* but in 85 for *sibi conscia* the Helmstadt MS gives *consortia.* Here again I lean to the reading of the inferior authority: *conscia* (*or*) would explain the corruption. But *terrent* must be wrong: I believe it to be a corruption of *adhaerent,* a favorite word with Seneca, e.g. Ep. 65. 18.

I would write the v. then

Quicquid et infernist, falsi consortia adhaerent

'whatever belongs to the world below, some association of falsehood is inseparable from it'.

96 *Non totum et solido est.*

So *CS:* obviously for

Non totum ex solido est.

This is, I think, certain: *et* for *ex* is one of the most common of all corruptions.

98 *utque animanti*
Per tota errantes percurrunt corpora uenae
Ad uitam, sanguis omnis qua commeat idem.

So Munro, perhaps rightly; except that for *idem* I would write *eidem,* i.e. *animanti,* 'by which passage all the blood passes to and fro in the body of one and the same creature'.

102 *Scilicet aut olim diuiso corpore mundi*
In maria et terras et sidera, sors data caelo
Prima, secuta maris.

Munro regards this *aut* as answered by *sive* in 110, and so Jacob. It is I think an error for *ante;* a similar case is to be found in Catalept. I. 5 *Venerit aut tibi* for which I would read *Venerit ante tibi,* 'suppose Delia *has* at some time in the past come to you: what good does the announcement of that *past* arrival do me now?'

105 *et qualis aceruus*
Exilit inparibus iactis ex tempore saxis
Vt crebro introrsus spatio uacuata charibdis
Pendeat in sese.

Exilit is here the opposite of *residit,* just as in Sen. Epist. 66. 11 (*virtutes satorum animaliumque*) *exiliunt residuntque* 'spring, shoot up'; the idea in either case is the suddenness or rapidity with which the stone heap is formed. Vat. 3272 has a remarkable variant for *caribdis* (which may point to a less outré word), *carambos:* possibly *coronis* 'the apex', 'the last stone that completes the pile', *τὸ τελευταῖον τῆς οἰκοδομῆς ἐπίθεμα* (Hesych.).

116 *non est hic causa dolendi*
Dum stet opus causae.

So *CS: docendi* and *causas* Munro. I doubt both changes. 'There is no cause for complaining (of our ignorance), provided only the *effect* of the (unknown) cause is permanent'.

120 *Nam ille ex tenui uocemque agat apta necesse est*
Cum fluuio errantes arcessant undique uenas
Et trahat ex pleno quod fortem contrahat amnem.

So *C,* and so *S* except that it has *cum fluuia* and *fontem.* The last two vv. Munro writes thus

Confluuia errantes arcessant undique uenas,
Vt trahat ex pleno quod fortem contrahat amnem.

Rightly, I imagine, except that *contrahat* is slightly harsh after

trahat in the same v. Bährens gives *comparat.* Possibly *conrogat.* The first I propose to emend as follows:

Non ille ex tenui uiolens ueget: arta necesse est.

Ille sc. *torrens,* 'be sure, that torrent does not change from a puny stream into boisterous vigour: there must be pent-up confluents that collect from every side their wandering ducts, in order that the torrent may draw from a full source the supply of a vigorous stream'. *Non* for *nam* is already in Vat. 3272 as well as other MSS. If this restitution is right, the lost v. after 119 must have been something of this kind,

Inualidus solet atque alio se erumpere fortem.

Cf. Sen. N. Q. VI. 8.

140 *Cernis et in siluis spatioque cubilia retro*
Antraque demissa pedibus fodisse latebris.

So *CS:* the Gyraldinus is said to have had *spatiosa* and *demersas penitus f. latebras.* I would call attention to the fact, here very palpable, that these readings are exactly such as a modern emender of the passage might propose: and would suggest that the really lost original was not this, but perhaps

Cernis et in siluis spatioque cubilia tecto
Antraque demissas penitus fodisse latebras.

Vat. 3272 has *re*$\not$*tro,* which might be a corruption of *tecto.* The reported reading of Gyr. is no doubt neater; but is it true? Certainly there are many reasons for distrusting these reported variants elsewhere. It is, for instance, nearly incredible that

161 *Fallere sed nondum tibi lumine certaque retro*

(so *CS*) should have been corrupted from

Falleris et nondum certo tibi lumine res est

as reported from Gyr. Many possibilities occur, e.g.

Falleris et nondum tibi lumine certa liquet res,

none perhaps sufficiently convincing to supplant the now generally received reading of Gyr., yet enough to increase the suspicion with which we approach this authority. Indeed, to

take the most crucial instance of all, one which like all others I have long been accustomed to consider convincing as to the substantial authenticity of at least part of these readings of Gyr., 227

Ingenium sacrare caputque attollere caelo

for

Sacra peringentem capitique attollere caelum

of *CS* and most MSS, I do not think it impossible that some other and quite different version came from the poet, e.g.

Sacra patris ridere[1], *caputque attollere caelo*

'to laugh at the rites of Father Jove, and lift our head to the sky', i.e. instead of worship and adoration, to bear a bold front and look into Father Jove's sky. But, though this inquiry is a not unprofitable one, and though I believe the view, that *the reported variants of Gyr. are mostly conjectures of the* 16*th and* 17*th centuries,* to be more than tenable, it would take too much time to carry out this examination in detail in an article not directly devoted to such a purpose,

144 *Tu modo subtiles animo duce percipe curas*
Occultamque fidem manifestis abstrahe rebus.

Munro says on this "*abstrahe* etc. must mean 'draw from things seen belief in the unseen'." Surely this is not necessary: *abstrahe* is not 'draw from' but 'withdraw' or 'abstract' from the visible workings of nature the hidden principle which we are to accept as the law of her working. So *occultas causas* in 179.

146—149

Nam quo liberior, quoque est animosior ignis
Semper in inclusis, nec uentis segnior ira est
Sub terra penitusque mouent hoc plura necesse est
Vincla magis soluant magis hoc obstantia pellant.

[1] *ingentem*, *urgentem*, *rigentem* are the variants; the latter would be a corruption of *rigente*, and this of *ridente* which would = *ridere*, much as *turbant* = *turbare* in 168.

Munro reads *hic plura*, making the apodosis begin at *necesse est*. I have always found myself pausing at this, mainly I think from the inequality of the two clauses. May not *mouent* be the seat of obscurity, and an error for *dolent*? (*dolare*).

nec uentis segnior ira est
Sub terra penitusque, dolent hoc plura necesse est,
Vincla magis soluant, magis hoc obstantia pellant,

'and in such proportion as the winds are equally quick (as the fire) to shew their fury under ground and deep below, in such proportion they must needs scoop out more ground, must so much the more break the fastenings loose, so much the more remove what stands in their way'. Cf. Seneca N. Q. VI. 24 (*Motus est*) *subter et ab imo.*

162—4

Namque illuc quod cumque uacat hiat impetus omnis
Et sese introitu soluunt adituque patenti
Conuersae languent uires animosque remittunt.

Munro here follows Gyr., which necessitates the hypothesis of a lost v., to say nothing of the awkwardness of the rhythm in the supposed restoration. It is safer, in my opinion, to keep to the outline of *CS* as written above. With very little alteration, we might read

Namque illuc, quodcumque uacans hiat, impetus omnis,

'for the whole force of their onset is towards any point where there is an open vacuum'. *illuc quodcumque* = *ad id quodcumque: uacās* would readily pass into *uacāt*, this into *uacat.*

165 *Quippe ubi contineat uentosa qua quaeque morantis*
In uacuo desint.

So *C, continuat S*; this must be not *qui teneat* (Gyr.), but *quod teneat* (Haupt); and so I see Bährens prints. In the rest of the passage Gyr. seems to be right in *defit* for *desint*, and nearly right in *uentos aquasque*, if, as seems likely, Munro's *acuatque* is the corrupted word.

180 *Plurima namque patent illi miracula monti*
Hinc uasti terrent aditus merguntque profundo
Corrigit hinc artus penitus quos exigit ultra.

I fancy that *arcus*, not *artus*, is what the poet wrote. 'On another side it calls in the arches which it carries out internally to a point beyond', i.e. elsewhere Aetna presents to the eye the appearance of arches terminating externally, after stretching to some distance inwards. *Porrigit* of Gyr. is of course a slight change, but I doubt its being right, and all MSS extant seem to agree in *corrigit*. Cf. 347 *ualidoque absoluerit arcu.*

203 sqq.
Ipse procul magnos miratur Iuppiter ignes
Neue sepulta noui surgant in bella gigantes
Neu Ditem regni pudeat, neu Tartara caelo
Vertat in occulto tantum premit omnia dextra
Congeries operit saxorum et putris harena.

So *C* except that in 206 it has *vertant*, in 207 *operis*. The only thing wrong is *dextra*, for which Gyr. had, as reported, *omniaque extra*. If this was right, OMNIAQ. EXTRA may have been the intermediate step. Or must we read *omnia ad extra? ad* for *at* is common enough. At any rate *at* suggests, what is required, the *opposition* of the *external* appearance of Mount Etna to the far greater, but concealed, workings *within*.

212 sqq.
Hac causa expectata ruunt incendia montis.
Spiritus inflatis nomen, languentibus aer.
Nam prope nequiquam par est uiolentia; semper
215 *Ingenium uelox illi motusque perennis.*
Verum opus auxilium est ut pellat corpora; nullus
Impetus est ipsi, qua spiritus imperat audit.
Hic princeps magnoque sub hoc duce militat ignis.

So I would write this difficult passage, retaining the readings of *C* with the exception of *Hac* for *Haec* 212, *montis* for *mortis*, ib.; *uiolentia* for *uolentia* 214; *corpora* for *corpore* 216; *Hic* for

Hinc, magnoque for *magnosque* 218. All these changes are admitted by Munro, with whom however I differ in the constitution of the first two vv., especially 213. Munro like all the other critics that I have seen considers the text of this v. corrupt, and changes it to *spiritus inflabit momen languentibus acre.* To me, from the first moment I read the line to the present time, a conviction of its soundness has asserted and reasserted itself: the poet parenthetically introduces a piece of scientific nomenclature. 'This is the reason why the rush of fire in Etna never comes as a surprise', namely, the working of the winds inside the mountain. 'These winds when inflated are called *spirit* (Sen. N. Q. II. 1. 3 *cum motus terrae spiritu fiant, spiritus autem aer sit agitatus*), when in subsidence, *air.* (Without their agency, fire alone can do nothing.) For it is almost of no effect that the two elements are equal in violence: true, fire has a natural velocity and continual motion, but then it needs some auxiliar to set bodies in motion: by itself it has no velocity; only where air bids, it follows obediently'. Yet though the passage may be so construed, there is an undeniable harshness in the absence of any word to express with distinctness *what* are the two forces of which *par est uiolentia.* Munro from Gyr. substitutes *flammae* for *semper:* a far easier remedy would be to read *igni* for *illi* in 215, which has this besides in its favour, that the recurrence of the same word at an interval of three lines (*igni* 215, *ignis* 218) is a marked feature of the poem. Seneca has a very similar passage N. Q. VI. 21 *Nobis quoque placet hunc spiritum esse qui possit tanta conari, quo nihil est in rerum natura potentius, nihil acrius, sine quo nec illa quidem quae uehementissima sunt, ualent; ignem spiritus concitat: aquae si uentum detrahes inertes sunt: tunc demum impetum sumunt, cum illas agit flatus.*

226. *nosse fidem rebus* of *C* may be right 'to know the amount of trust we can give to things'; what to accept as demonstrated by them. The dative would be justified by the construction of *fidere.*

254—6

Nam quae mortalis spes quaeue amentia maior
In Iouis errantem regno perquirere uelle
Tantum opus ante pedes transire uc perdere segnes?

So *C*, with *est* written over *spes*. I would write

Nam quae mortali superest amentia maior?

290 *Seu forte flexere caput tergoque feruntur.*

Read *fortes* sc. *uenti*, 'or waxing bold have rounded the head (turned the point) of Etna, and sweep on behind it'.

293

Nam ueluti sonat ora duc tritone cancro C

diu canoro Helmstadt
sonitura dius tritona canoro Vat. 3272

Without attempting an examination of the previous corrections of this v., I will offer my own conj. based on Vat. 3272,

Nam ueluti sonat urna ciens Tritona canorum.

Vrna, I think, would be quite a proper term for the hydraulic box which the poet is here describing. This machine seems to have sounded by setting in motion an apparatus communicating with a trumpeting Triton.

In 294 *uictusque mouere Spiritus* I still think that *moueri* is more probable.

316, 317

Atque haec in uacuo si tanta potentia rerum est,
Hoc plura efficiant infra clusique necesse est.

rorum (Jacob) seems right, though the word is a strange one under the circumstances. But in 317 Vat. has a v. l. which is worth noticing, *introclusique*. Possibly then *intra clusique*.

337 *Non illam uidet Aetna nec ullo intercipit aestu*
Obsequitur quacumque iubet leuis aura reditque.

May not *uidet* be right? Aetna has no eye for, 'takes no notice of' this cloud, which is unaffected by the agitation of the mountain and simply drifts with the breeze.

339 *Placantes etiam caelestia numina ture*
Summo cerne iugo, uel qua liberrimus Aetna
Inprospectus hiat, tantarum semina rerum
Si nihil irritet flammas stupeatque profundum.

Munro takes *Aetna* as masc. here, quoting Solin. v. 9. I cannot think it possible that in this one passage our poet should permit himself a licence which neither he nor any other poet seems to have taken elsewhere. Schrader's *Inprospectus* is a very slight change and perfectly intelligible, 'even at the point where the view inside the crater opens most freely on Etna', i.e. at the very point where the agitation of the volcano is most perceptible and seen most uninterruptedly. *flammas* I take to be the participle *flammans;* as an appositional accusative it is inconceivably harsh.

351 *Sparsa liquore manus sacros ubi uentilat ignis*
Verberat ora tamen, pulsataque corpora nostris
Incursant, adeo in tenui uim causa repellit
Non cinerem stipulamue leuem non arida sorbet
Gramina, non tenuis plantis humus excita predas.

The only thing in these five vv. which is questionable is the last word *predas*, for which however there are many variants, though mixed with such confusion as to give but a faint light. I quote them from Munro *exit humus apredas* δ, *exit humor apridas* ε, *exit humor apn̄das* γ. These point to an unusual word, probably *apludas*, 'bits of chaff', for there is not to my knowledge any thing to prove that the first *a* of *apluda* was different from the first *a* of *aplustre*, long or short indifferently. But why *adeo in tenui uim causa repellit* should be changed into *adeo in tenuist, uim causa repellit* (M.) I cannot see. The meaning is perfectly clear, and the construction though more condensed than usual, legitimate, i.e. *adeo in tenui causa est quae uim repellit*, 'in so small a matter lies the cause of this repulsion of force': namely, in the sprinkling of water on the hand, and the rapidity with which the hand whirls round the lustrating fire: two things slight in themselves, but enough to allow the human body (*nostris*) to feel the impact and charge of these natural bodies or substances unharmed. *Non cinerem*, &c. returns, I think, to the main point of the sentence, the illustration of the seeming calm at the top of Etna from the undisturbed condition of the human countenance when fire is rapidly whirled round close to it in the ceremony of lustration. The nominative to *sorbet* is perhaps

humus, 'no ashes or light stubble, no wisp of dry grass, not the lightest chaff that the feet have stirred from the ground, is (drawn into the vortex of the fire and then) reabsorbed by the ground'.

374 sqq. *Saepe premit fauces magnis extructa ruinis*
Congeries clauditque uias luctamINE ab imo
Et sPisso ueluti tectoS sub pondere praestat
Aut similI teneT oCcursu, cum frigida monti
Desidia est tutoque licet dEsceNdere VEntiS.

The capitals here mark the deviations from *C*. I am responsible for *tectoS, teneT oCcursu, dEscenNdere:* the other corrections have been made before. *C* gives in 376 *tecto*, in 377 *similis teneros cursu*, in 378 *discedere montes*. In 376 *tectos* sc. *uentos* (372). By *occursu* I mean 'stoppage', 'obstruction'. Two causes are assigned for the intermittent violence of Etna: (1) an accumulation of rock which blocks up the passage at the bottom and keeps the winds imprisoned *under* it, (2) a similar obstruction which *meets* the winds on their way downwards into the crater during periods when the volcano is inactive.

385 *Nunc superant quaecumque regant incendia siluae*
Quae flammas alimenta uocent quid nutriat aethnam
Incendi poterunt.

So *C*, the only variant of any consequence is *quod* of several MSS for *quid*. In 385 M.'s *rigant* seems to me better than any other conjecture yet offered; but I greatly doubt his *uocant* = *uacant*, especially as *C* gives *flammas* not *flammis*. Why should not *uocent* be taken literally? 'Every form of aliment meant to call up the flames, that Aetna feeds, may now be kindled': substituting therefore *quot* for *quid* or *quod* of MSS, *nutriat Aetna* for *nutriat ethnam*. *Superant* I would translate 'become overpowering'.

393, 4 *Atque hanc materiam penitus discurrere fontes*
Infectae eripiantur aquae radice sub ipsa.

Munro *rumpuntur* for *eripiantur*. I have before suggested what I think nearer to the letters of the word, *crispantur*. De Rooy in his clever Spicilegia Critica (1771) shows that *crispus*,

crispari are particularly used of *water*. 'Crispari eleganter dicitur aqua, cum breuioribus undis quasi trepidat. Hinc *crispi* undarum *motus*, Auson. Mosell. v. 194, eodem fere modo et arenam *crispari* dicit, v. 63. Minuc. Fel. c. 3, *Et ut semper mare, etiam positis flatibus, inquietum est, etsi non canis spumosisque fluctibus exibat ad terram; tamen* crispis *torosisque ibidem erroribus delectati perquam sumus*'.

397 *Quin etiam uarie quaedam sine numine saxa*
Toto monte liquant.

sine alumine M.: more probable, I think, is *sine lumine;* substances which submit to the action of fire but without taking light, in opposition to sulphur, bitumen, &c. This *uarie* is perhaps the right word in 184, Inter opus nectunt *uarie*, where *C* gives *uaries*.

425 sqq. *Cerne locis etiam similes arsisse cauernas.*

This passage to 447 has not, I think, been understood. If I am not mistaken, the poet means that places near volcanic regions sometimes show traces of similar volcanic action, e.g. the coast on the mainland opposite Aenaria (Ischia) and the island Strongyle and Hiera not far from Mt Aetna. On this view it will not be necessary to add *his* in 425 after *etiam* (Munro), or to correct *Locris* (Wagler): *locis* is sufficiently explained by *similes* 'observe again that fires have broken out in caverns corresponding to particular regions': *illic* (426) will then mean in those extinct volcanoes, where the fire has died out from absence of the lapis molaris or lava stone: *lava di Vesuvio* as it is sometimes called by the Italians. His first illustration is from Aenaria,

429 *Dicitur insidiis flagrans Aenaria quondam,*
Nunc extincta super testisque Neapolin inter
Et Cumas locus et multis iam frigidus annis
Quamuis aeternum pinguiscat et ubere sulphur
In mercem legitur, tanto est fecundius Aetna.

If 430 is rightly given by *C* and other MSS, *super* may possibly mean 'at the top', i.e. covered over with grass and trees which prove that it has become extinct: it seems to me

impossible to construct it with the following clause (so Munro). Somewhat similar in the form of antithesis is a passage of Lucan VI. 355 *Atque olim Larisa potens, ubi nobile quondam Nunc super Argos arant.* But I suspect a corruption, possibly *silet.* In 431 my emendation *pingui scatet ubere* is accepted both by Munro and Bährens though Herr Wagler has not condescended to notice it in his treatise of 1884. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of *insidiis.* Sudden outbreaks of nature's most terrific workings are to this day characteristic of Ischia. Witness the frightful earthquake by which Casamicciola was in July, 1883, reduced in a few seconds to a heap of ruins. Those ruins are around me as I write this article; and so great is the insecurity still felt (a minor shock had preceded in 1881) that the prosperity of this lovely island will be, it is to be feared, seriously damaged for some years to come. In 1736, when de Serionne published his translation of our poem, Ischia had been long tranquil: his text gives *indiciis.* In reference to the particular point dwelt upon in the *Aetna*, it is interesting to notice that in the first century of the Christian era no volcanic eruption had taken place for so long that the memory of it was a mere tradition. *dicitur flagrans Aenaria quondam, Nunc extincta.* Yet Julius Obsequens, the author of the little treatise de Prodigiis, says that at the time of the outbreak of the Social War *Aenariae terrae hiatu flamma excita in caelum emicuit.* We may perhaps infer that this was a very short outbreak, which occasioned a momentary wonder, but no permanent impression. (See Johnston Lavis' excellent Monograph on the Earthquakes of Ischia, Naples, 1885.) The wonderful $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of lava blocks near the town of Ischia date, I believe, from the great eruption of M. Epomeo in 1302.

439—443

Insula durat adhuc, Vulcani nomine sacra,
Pars tamen incendi maior refrixit et alto
Iactatas recipit classes portuque tuetur
Quae restat minor et diues satis ubere terra est
Sed non Aetneis uires quas conferat illi.

Such I believe to be the right punctuation and constitution

of this passage, in which Scaliger's *durat adhuc* for *durata* of MSS is beyond all praise. v. 440 is surely not to be written as M. gives it,

Pars tamen incendi: maior refrixit et alto

for this involves (1) making *Pars* a definition of *Insula*, the island, that is a part of it, (2) treating *incendi* as an infinitive depending on *durat:* both of which hypotheses are forced and, to my view, impossible. I simply follow Scaliger here. v. 443 I give after de Serionne: *illi* is the smaller, still volcanic, part of the Vulcanian island, which though active cannot compare in strength with Aetna. *C* gives *Aethnei.*

450—452

Nam circa latera atque imis radicibus Aetnae
Candentes efflant lapides disiectaque saxa
Intereunt uenis.

Munro says '*Int. uen.* must mean 'immiscentur uenis Aetnae' but I know no other instance of this use of the word'. Surely this is *not* the meaning: the sense is that at the bottom of Mt. Etna stones may be seen *smouldering* with their pores, i.e. with the heat still alive but gradually dying out. The construction is exactly parallel to Sophocles' *φθίνουσα μὲν κάλυξιν ἐγκάρποις χθονός, Φθίνουσα δ' ἀγέλαις βουνόμοις* O. T. 25, 26.

452—454 *manifesto ut credere possis*
Pabula et ardendi causam lapidem esse molarem
Cuius defectus ieiunus colligit ignis.

So *C*, and no change I think is called for. Translate 'you may feel sure that these smouldering red-hot stones are attributable to the presence of the lava-stone, whose leavings the starved fire gathers up and burns for want of a larger supply of fuel'.

457 *Haud equidem mirum facie que cernimus extra*
Si lenitur opus restant: magis uritur illic
Sollicitatque magis uicina incendia saxum
Certaque uenturae praemittit pignera flammae.

I would offer, but only as a tentative re-constitution of 457, 8, the following:

Haud equidem mira in faciem, quae cernimus extra,
Si lenitur opus, restant: magis uritur illic, &c.

'Not indeed that the effects we see outside the mountain, if the volcanic working is toned down, offer anything of permanent interest as curious: the stronger burning of the lava, its more potent solicitation of the fires near it, is in the *other* centre, within the crater'.

461 sqq.

Nam simul atque mouet uires turbamque minatus
Diffugit ex(t)emploque solum trahit ictaque ramis
Et graue sub terra murmur demonstrat et ignes.

M. marks a lacuna after 461: but there would seem to be another after 462. *ramis* perhaps represents *raris*, with which *foraminibus* in the lost v. might have agreed, cf. 566. In 463 *denuntiat* (Jacob) for *demonstrat et* is very plausible.

469—472

Illinc incertae facies hominumque figurae
Pars lapidum domita stanti pars robora pugnae
Nec repit flammas hinc defensus anhelat
Atque aperit se hostis decrescit spiritus illic.

So *C.* The Helmstadt MS gives *recipit* for *repit*, rightly: and *defessus* for *defensus*. Almost all editors change *hostis* to *hosti*. I would retain it, and write the vv. thus

Pars lapidum domita, stanti(s) pars robora pugnae,
Nec recipit flammas: hinc indefessus anhelat
Atque aperit se hostis, decrescit spiritus illic.

Bährens already has *hic indefensus*.

(1) Why should not Lucilius lengthen *ă* before *st*, as so many other poets have done? (2) *robora* has every mark of genuineness. 'Part of the stones present the sturdy strength of a standing fight, resisting all approaches of the flames: on one side the enemy (the fire) pants unweariedly, and opens out its forces, on another its violence is abating'.

489 sqq.

Nunc siluae rupesque notant haec tela solumque
Ipsa adiutat opes facilesque sibi induit amnis
Quod si forte cauis cunctatus uallibus haesit
Vtpote inaequalis uoluens perpascitur agros
Ingeminant fluctus et stantibus increpat undis.

Wernsdorf's *rotant* for *notant* (489) is accepted by Munro and looks right. *Ipsa* is a mistake not for *ipsum*, but *ipse* sc. *amnis*. *Opes* are the materials which swell the lava current; are readily taken in by it and form part of its onward course, instead of arresting that course as might be expected. In 492 is not *in aequalis* to be written? 'inasmuch as it rolls over *level* fields, it grazes freely there', i.e. when it comes to a level surface with nothing to arrest its course, its velocity and freedom increase. *Ingeminat* of the 15th cent. MSS is probably right: but *increpat* I think is 'loudly calls to its standing waters' to come on, rather than as explained by M.

498, 9 *Paulatimque ignes coeunt ac flammea messis*
Exuitur facies.

Such is certainly the right punctuation: as by degrees the fire combines into a molten mass, it loses the appearance of a waving field of flames.

506—8 *uerum impetus ignes*
Symaethi quondam ut ripas traiecerit amnis,
Vix iunctis quisquam fixo dimouerit illas.

Lucilius here contrasts the impetuous onset of the lava-flood, which was sufficiently strong to carry it over the bed of the river Symaethus, with the utter immobility of the same lava-stream when hardened and solidified afterwards. Hence *ut* is 'though': *illas* are the banks which no effort of human skill can, afterwards, part clear again from the immovable lava-mass which now crosses them. But *iunctis*, though retained by M., is so extraordinarily harsh that I think it must be wrong, and I would read for it *uncis*, grappling irons or grips which might naturally be used for hauling up heavy weights, or getting stronger hold upon them. *fixo* may be right, though M.'s *faxo* is very clever.

532 *Quin ipsis quondam Siculi cognomina saxis*
Inposuere †fridicas et iam ipso nomine signant
Fusilis esse notas.

The variants *frichas, fricas, phricas* point with some distinctness to a digammated word, perhaps Fρυτὰς or Fρύδας (cf. ῥύδαν διαῤῥύδαν) from ῥεῖν.

537—540
Cogitet obscuri uerissima dicta libelli
Heraclite, tui, nihil insuperabile gigni
Omnia quae rerum natura semina iacta
Sed nimium hoc mirum.

Scaliger's *ab igni* for *gigni* is accepted both by Munro and Bährens and seems indubitable. But 539, 540 I would write

Omnia quae rerum natura semina iacta,
Seminium hoc mirum.

'This (fire) is the marvellous seed-ground (nursery) of all the seeds of things planted in the course of nature'. The construction is, *omnia quae rerum semina natura iacta* (*sunt*), *hoc mirum seminium* (*esse*): *omnia* is of course an attraction into the case of *quae*.

547 *similique obnoxia sorte.*

Lexicographers should take note of this abl. It is quite possible that it is a rare, but still correct, construction. Such an abl. after *obnoxius* occurs in the Digest (Forcellini).

555, 7 *quae tanta putas incendia nostris*
Sustentari opibus, tantis fornacibus Aetna
Vritur ac sacro numquam nec fertilis igni
Sed non qui nostro feruet moderatior usu,
Sed caelo propior.

quantis for *tantis* is an old and necessary correction: for *nec* in 557 editors are content to write *non*. Possibly the original reading was *numquam haec non fertilis igni.*

568 sqq. *Magnificas laudes operosaque uisere templa*
Diuitiis hominum aut sacras memorare uetustas
Traducti materia et terris per proxima fatis
Currimus.

If *laudes* is an error for *aedes* it is a rare one, to say nothing of the tautology with *templa* following. Till something better is proposed, I prefer to explain it, somewhat on the analogy of *res antiquae laudis et artis* (Verg. G. II.), as *'glories'* i.e. monuments which have become famous in the world for their magnificence. *Sacras* I believe is a corruption of *arcas*, 'coffins' of ancient worthies, such as were shown particularly in Egypt. *Maria* is De Rooy's convincing emendation of *materia:* for the old conj. *traduce materia*, which I have found in a MS. of the Naples Museum, cannot be right even as Latin, to say nothing of the unusual rhythm. Whether *terris* (? *terras*) is right, or is a mistake for *certis*, it is hard to decide. For the infinitives *uisere memorare* after *currimus*, see my note on Avianus XXII. 1, 2.

586 *philomela canoris*
Euocat in siluis et tu soror hospita tectis
Acciperis.

For *Euocat in* I would write *Plorat (It)yn.* A similar depravation attaches to this unfortunate name in Cul. 252 *Quarum uox Ityn edit Ityn*, which the oldest Vatican MS (Bembo's) presents in this strange shape, *Quarum uox it in edytyn.*

612, 613 *Vixdum castra putant hostem mouisse, tremebant.*
Et iam finitimae portas euaserat urbis.

Jacob wrote *tremendum* for *tremebant*, a weak and improbable conj. The MSS have rightly preserved *tremebant:* 'scarcely had they begun to think the enemy was on the march, and already they were trembling at his approach'.

619 *Et quod cuique fuit cari fugit ipse sub illo.*

Caesar B. G. v. 33 of a rapid flight, *quae quisque eorum carissima haberet ab impedimentis petere atque arripere properaret.*

621—623
Cunctantis uorat ignis et undique torret auaros
Consequitur fugisse ratis et praemia captis
Concrepat.

Le Clerc, *Concremat*, ingeniously.

623, 4 *haec nullis parsura incendia pascunt*
Vel solis parsura† dees.

Munro *pieis.* But *deis* may be right: the flames spare the gods alone, i.e. those whom the gods interfere to save for their piety.

627, 8

Aspiciunt pigrumque senem matremque †senemque
Eheu defessos posuisse in limine membra.

Bährens *senentem:* rather *sequentem:* the *que* is out of its place.

629—632

Parcite auara manus dites attollere praedas
Illis diuitiae solae materque paterque
Hanc rapitis praedam: mediumque exire per ignem
Ipso dante fidem properant.

rapitis is my conj. for *rapies* of MSS. The poet bids the selfish majority of the Catinaeans, who had carried off their valuables, to spare this more precious burden, the father and mother whom their sons had saved instead of property: 'this is the only booty you can seize'. The *que* of *mediumque* marks an act which is an immediate attestation of the piety of the two brothers and the visible interference of the gods in their behalf.

637 *Dextra saeua tenent laeuaque incendia feruent.*

I have no doubt this is what Lucilius wrote: in an immense proportion of cases I have found *dextra* written as a trisyllable *dextera* even when palpably *contra metrum.* *Saeua* agrees with *incendia: tenent* is 'are in occupation'.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

CASAMICCIOLA, ISCHIA,
June, 1887.

As an Appendix to the above, I add some conjectures on the *Aetna*, as well as on the *Culex* and *Ciris*, which were sent to me by the well-known Professor Robert Unger of Halle in November of this year.

(I)

AETNA.

v.

3. *Quod fremat* imperium (fremat, ut Stat. Theb. III. 576 et, ut videtur, Sedul. I. 196. imperium, ut Val. Max. I. i. 9, Arntz. Maximian. Pan. 13, 5, p. 343, Barth. Stat. VI. 315 p. 4632).

5. Seu te Cynthus habet seu *Delo* est gratior *Arna*
Sive tibi *Tenedos* potior.

7. *Iam* nova Pierio properent a fonte sorores
Pocla.

18. Quis non Argolico deflevit Per*gama in* igni (Nicandr. fr. 62: ἐν πυρὶ—πάτρην).

19. *Comp*ositam et tristi natorum funere *matrem.*

20. Aversumque diem sparsumque *e semine dentis* (= Prop. III. 21, 30, 33. e semine, ut Stat.: Martisque e semine Theron. dentis, ut Val. Flacc., Lucan., Claudian.).

22 sq. Quidquid *in Aetna actum, iam facta* est fabula: carmen
Fortius (ignotas molimur pectore curas),
Qui tan*ti* motus, ope*ra et* quae tanta perennes
Explicet *introrsum* flammas.

49. Pelion Ossa *gravat.*

52. infestus cunctos ad proelia divos,
Praenotat amotis, qua Tethyos aequora, signis.

54. Iupiter et *telo metuit* dextramque corusca
Abiunctus flamma.

57 sq. Hic magno tonat ore pater geminantque *furentes*
Undique dis*cordi* sonitus *molimine* venti.

61 sq. patri iam dextera Pallas
Et Mars *laeva ierat, iam* et cetera *turba* deorum:
Stant, *ut cuique decus. Vastos* tum *Jupiter ignes*
Increpat et *iunctos* proturbat fulmine montes.
(laeva ierat = in laevam, dextram partem, ut Ovid. Plin. al.)

65 sqq. *Ilicet invectae* verterunt terga ru*inae* (Senec.: terga dare alicui).
Infestae divis acies atque *ignibus* hostis
Praeceps *ceu flagris* agitur materque *fatiscit*
Componens cunctos: tum pax est reddita mundo,
Tum *liber cessata* venit post *foedera* Phoebus
Defensique decus mundi *dux* redditur astris.

74. Haec est *ventosae* vulgata licentia famae.

76. Plurima pars *scenae rerum* est fallacia: vates
Sub *tenebris* nigros *finxerunt* carmine Manes.

79. Mentiti *fauces* Stygias *umbrasque* canentes (cf. Simonid. Hor. Stat. al.).

80. Hi Tityon *poena* strâvere in iugera *fetum* (Sinid. c. VI. 3 p. 111 sq.).

81. Sollicitant *malo* te siccum, Tantale, *plena* (Sin. IV. 1 p. 62 sq.).

84. *Quid, quod et ulterius* falsi *contagia aberrant*
Necdum terra *sat est*?

86. Nec metuunt oculos alieno *advertere mundo:*
Norunt bella deum, norunt abscondita *furtis*
Coniugia.

107. Ut crebro introrsus spatio *recava acta* Charybdis (recavus Stat. Avien. Prudent. Alcim. Avit. Paulin.).

128. *Quid,* si *intus* versos emittat terra canales
Hospitium *in fluidum*?
(flŭvius: fluidus codd. Lucret. II. 596 cf. Cort. Lucan. VI. 89, p. 16; hospitium Plin. N. H. VI. 18, 22. Pallad. R. R. I. 17, 2).

129. —*sunt* sem*ina* nulla profecto
Fontibus et rivis *non stat* via pigraque tellus
Conferta in solidum segni sub pondere ces*sat.*

132. Condita si redeunt, si quae *clam* condita *serpunt*
(= Senec. N. Q. VI. 8 quo illum putas abire nisi in obscura terrarum. clam serpunt, ut in Herc. Fur. 186 nimium pectore forti; Stat. os flatu *paene* inviolabile *tinctus.* Sil. XIV. 425).

146 sq. Nam quo liberior quoque est animosior *impes*
(*Asper enim in clauso* nec ventus segnior *irae* est
Sub terra penitus *remanens*), *pia iura* necesse est
Victa magis solv*at*, magis hoc obstantia pell*at.*
(in clauso, Virg. Senec. Columell. Impes, Priscian. VI. 10, 55. Gloss. Labb. p. 88).

150 sq. Nec tamen in *privos* exit *collecta* canales
Vis animae: *flatu acre* ruit, qua proxima cedunt
(acre, ut Sallust. Manil. Sulpic. al.).
Obli*quansque* secat, qua *fissa* tenerrima, *claustra.*

158 sq. Sed summis si forte putas concrescere caulis
Tantum opus *ex* subitis alimenti incursibus, ora

162 sq. Namque imis quacunque *vigent* in hiatibus, omnes
En sursum introitu *assiliunt ostio*que patenti
Con*sertae* languent vires animosque remittunt.

(II)

CULEX.

v.

88. Floribus-*fragrantibus* (Cir. Comm. p. 290).

92 sq. haec cura est subdita cordi,
*Qua*libet ut requie, victu quum *vent*er abun*dat,*
Iucundoque *levet* languentia corpora somno (Cir. p. 245).

114. Posterius poenam *vat*um *est* memorare *futur*am.

168. *Tendebant tarde* venientis ad *humida nisus* (Cir. p. 293).

172. Edita purpureo *luces iaculatur* amictu
Adspect*um*que *negat* (Cir. p. 222 et Cinnae fr. p. 5).

174. *Vecta*bat sese circum loca, quum videt *aegre* (Cir. p. 299).

176. obvia *ad ornum*
Saevius *arrepens* infringere.

202. Iam quatit *ex* biiugis oriens Ere*bo cita* equos Nox.

216. video *en* flagrantia taedis
Limina qu*am livent infaustis conscia* templis (Cir. p. 293).

233. *Quam* tristes circa densentur *in ultima* poenae! (vel Qua).

240. *visu* uvidus amni
Restat. (Cir. p. 290).

242. resolutus *in ultima*

260. saeva mari*to*
In Chalcodoniis *sat Mortis iura* morata est.

265. Ecce Ithaci conjux *supra est*, genus Icar*ionis*
Femineum *omne* indepta decus: m. (Cir. p. 197).

311. flamm*a arva cremante*
(Stat. Ecl. Ult. p. 179).

378 sq. (Complicatam sententiarum rationem his evolvimus: quum tu mihi causa mali sis nec conscius tibi facinoris nequaquam tolerabilis: etsi hoc, quod gravius acerbiusque adversus te dici oportuit, ita audis, ut ne nunc quidem iustitiae memor gratam voluntatem testificeris (v. 227, 230), contingat tamen, ut ipsum somnium alta mente conditum teneatur. Quas sententias codicum vestigia pressius sequendo licet his verbis complecti:)
Quum mihi tu sis causa mali nec conscius *ausis*
Haud tolerabilibus: si *iuris* hoc immemor audis,
Sit tamen *alte adytis* demittere somnia *mentis.*
(Cir. p. 289.)
Digredior: *noxam immeritus luo*: *tu* cole fontes.

(III)

CIRIS.

v.

106. Alcathoi, Phoebi *usque decus*: namque affuit illi,
Unde etiam citharae voces imi*tantur* acutas.

118. *Sistere* et indomi*tas* virtute retundere mentes.

121. Candida caesaries (frondebant tempora lauro),
Sed roseus—.

127. Aurea sollemni comptum *cui* fibula ritu
Morsu habilem tereti nectebat dente cicadae.

129. Nec veri haec *dotis* custodia vana fuisset
(*Haec mora erat*).

150. ne *per*dita

151. *Aurea acus* gracili solvisset corpore pallam!
Omina, quae retinere gradum cursusque morari
Possent—*hoc tantum*—vellem *obvia* semper haberes.

175. caeli speculatur hono*rem*.

249. Sordibus et *scaeva* patiar tabescere la*bi*.

265. quove *icta malo* hoc exordiar ore?

290. capta *arce* avecta nequivi,
Tam grave servitium, tam duros passa labores,
Effugere? *ad*sistam exitium crudele? *malorum*
Summam nec nobis *aequum* et senioribus ullum
Vivendi capiam pretium et decus?

303. Unde alii *affulsisse* ferunt.

305. Dictynnam dixere tuo de *culmine* lunam.

315. Saepe *tremo*.

324. Sin est, quod metuo, per *munia* alumna—.

326. Per te *saxa* precor, per *flumina mitis Eleuthus*,
Ne tantum *en* facinus tam *cruda* mente sequaris.

359. Communemque timere deum *vult* regis amicos,
Nunc *se isse in vetitum; ast* orbum flet maesta parentem,
Cum Iove communes *cui non datum habere* nepotes.

374. Inde *nigro* gemi*nata* Iovi *feralia* sacra.

384. Illud imprimis mihi laetandum iure esse video, quod Tu *Rhauci* nomen restituendum censuisti. Haec enim in commentariis nostris M. 5 p. 249 sqq. scripta extant: Sed enim brevi diluxit id ipsum omnes veritatis numeros continere, quod nec alius quisquam in ullo posuit discrimine et qui in examinando codicum, quibus usus est, pondere frustra laboravit, Ribbeckius p. 46 "prava coniectura" illatum esse dicere ausus est. *Rhaucus* enim Cretae urbs fuit famae nequaquam obscurae: testes sunt Meursius Cret. I. 15, p. 58 et quem non neglexit Gronovius Scylac. Peripl. p. 42, Holstenius Steph. Byz. p. 270 (cui ipsi emendati versus Lycophr. 1304 laus debetur illa quidem a Bachmanno p. 264 Hoeckio Cret. I. p. 433 vindicata). Tanta vero eius vocis novitas plerisque visa est, ut alii (Vatic.) vacui spatii aliquid relinquere, quam non intellectum vocabulum chartae mandare, mallent, alii scribendo depravatum *rauci* (*ravsi*, *raphci*) ad hanc quae iam perplacuit speciem (*rephahi*) *revehi* deducerent, quum non promptum magis, quam consentaneum esset hoc redintegrari: *Rhauci moenia* (*arx* v. 290), unde novo appareret documento non vulgares in eo scriptore litteras fuisse, de quo tot docti minus bene sentire consueverunt. Itaque nos non temere eruisse videmur rem ut vetustate oblitteratam, ita maxime pertinentem ad pernoscendam fortunam Carmes filiaeque, quas Rhaucum urbem (nam alii *Caeno* memorant Wess. Diod. v. p. 392, 44) patriam sedem (v. 385, 290) habuisse iam pro comperto est. Iam vero hoc deliberato ac constituto sequitur, ut non minus certa arte enucleem, quod adhuc omnibus difficile fuit ad excutiendum. Quod enim librorum consentiens auctoritas praebet: moenia *crescant* (cres*cat*), id ad hunc statum revocare, moenia *restant*, nullius negotii est, siquidem videntur permutatae litterae c et s (rescant) genuisse illud *crescant*.

409. Vos, o *Emathia*...

441. *Nancta* queror *necem.* Et illa quidem communis: *at ulla*
Ossibus injecta tellus tumulabit arena?

443. Mene inter *Mnotas* ancillarumque *maniplos*
Venales inter famulari munere fungi.

451. Aequoreae pestes, *imitamina* corpora *montis.*

469. Et notas *aequi* heu frustra respectat Athenas.

477. *Anguineam*que *sinit Tenum undi*feramque Scriphum:

478. Fertur et *infestis* iactatur *ad ultima* ventis,
Cymba velut magnas sequitur quum parvula classes,
Afer *at* hiberno bacchatur in aequore turbo,
Donec tale decus formae *vastarier Euris* (*Austris*)—.

R. UNGER.

Postscript.

[It is due to other critics as well as to myself to state that some of the corrections proposed by Prof. Unger have been anticipated. Aet. 49 *grauat* by Jacobs and Munro, 69 *cessata,* 77 *finxerunt* by my own article in the present number of the Journal, written five months before Prof. Unger's conjectures were sent to me.

I observe too that, no doubt inadvertently, Prof. Unger has repeated a conjecture of mine on Cir. 175 *honorem,* and suggested what I think no improvement of another Cir. 361 *cui non datum* where I had conjectured *qui non dat.* Both *honorem* and *qui non dat* were printed in the first no. of the American Journal of Philology for 1887, of which I sent a copy to Prof. Unger, and which he has quoted on Cir. 384 *Rhauci.* On the other hand Prof. Unger has forestalled Mr Hildebrandt's *lucem iaculatur* Cul. 172. The reference on p. 318 'in commentariis nostris M. 5 p. 249' is to Prof. Unger's unpublished remainder of his commentary on the Ciris, the first portion of which was published as a pamphlet in 1886.—Robinson Ellis.]

CIC. ACAD. PRIOR. xxv. 79, 80.

Tu autem te negas infracto remo neque columbae collo commoueri. Primum cur? nam et in remo sentio non esse id quod uideatur, et in columba pluris uideri colores nec esse plus uno. Deinde nihilne praeterea diximus? Manent illa omnia, iacet (so Reid, *laterat, lateat, iaceat* MSS) *ista caussa: ueracis suos esse sensus dicit. Igitur semper auctorem habes, et eum qui magno suo periculo caussam agat. Eo enim rem demittit Epicurus, si unus sensus semel in uita mentitus sit, nulli umquam esse credendum. Hoc est uerum esse, confidere suis testibus et †inportata insistere.*

The last sentence is ironical, as Reid shews in his Translation, 'This is candour, to rely on your own witnesses!' The irony of the passage will be perfectly maintained if for the corrupt *inportata* we write *in torquata*, 'to take a firm stand on an appeal to the ring-dove's neck'. *Torquatus* as an epithet of ring-doves is found in Prop. IV. 5. 63, *Sed cape torquatae, Venus o regina, columbae Ob meritum ante tuos guttura secta focos*, Mart. XIII. 67. 1, *Inguina torquati tardant hebetantque palumbi.* The omission of the substantive in our passage would be perfectly intelligible after *columba* twice mentioned in 79.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

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